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THE COLLECTED WARTIME MESSAGES
OF GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK



Volume One

PROLOGUE

CHINA RESISTS JAPAN

1937-1938

CHINA FIGHTS ON

1938-1940

CHINA FIGHTS AND BUILDS

1940-1941



Volume Two

CHINA FIGHTS AND BUILDS

(Continued)

CHINA FIGHTS ON WITH ALLIES

1941-1943

CHINA FIGHTS ON TO VICTORY

1943-1945

EPILOGUE

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The Collected
Wartime Messages of
Generalissimo
CHIANG KAI-SHEK

1937-1945

Compiled by
CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION



Volume One

1937 - 1940

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY

• NEW YORK

YUAN SHIH CHIANG
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THE COLLECTED WARTIME MESSAGES
OF GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

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CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG
(Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's signature)

17th (2 v.) 1946 NOV 8 1946

YARAGLU OJUBIWA
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President Chiang reads from Sun Yat-sen's doctrines

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A Note on the Translation

THE present compilation contains every major speech and message delivered by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek during the eight years of war. Two additional speeches not falling in this wartime period are included, in the Prologue and the Epilogue, respectively.

A number of items in this work were published in collections at various stages of the war.* These are: *China Fights On* (China Publishing Company, Chungking and Hongkong, 1941); *All We Are and All We Have* (Chinese News Service and John Day, New York, 1942); *Resistance and Reconstruction* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1943); *The Voice of China* (Hutchinson, London, 1943); and *Before Final Victory* (Chinese News Service, New York, 1944). Some of the addresses, particularly those given in the later war years, first appeared in English in the press and in various periodicals. After accounting for all previously published items this edition presents 72 items never before published in the United States, among which 38 items have not been published in English translation anywhere in the world.

Of the 160 items assembled here at least one hundred were translated from the original Chinese texts especially for this collection, the remainder being official English translations as released through the Chinese Ministry of Information.

Section II, "China Fights On," was translated by Frank Wilson Price, who also translated Items 3, 8, 9, 12, 15 and 16 of Section I and Item 135 of Section V. The Prologue and Section I, "China Resists Japan," were translated by Albert French Lutley, who is also responsible for Item 45 in Section II. Section III, "China Fights and Builds," and Section IV, "China Fights On With Allies," were translated by Ma Pin-ho.

The plan for a complete collection of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-

* See Bibliographical Index on page 877.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

shek's wartime messages was conceived and carried out by Dr. Hollington K. Tong and H. P. Tseng. The present two-volume work was prepared under the direction of Dr. Ching-lin Hsia by George Kao, with the assistance of David Leong and Chow Sen-yung.

Foreword

THE leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek must be accounted the chief of many factors which enabled the Chinese nation to win its long war against Japanese aggression. This is nowhere better evidenced than in the words of the man himself. From day to day and month after weary month, throughout the eight years of China's resistance, Chiang talked to his people—rallying them to self-defense, sustaining them in the depths of defeat and despair, and urging them on to final victory.

Now that the fight against Japan is over and one more chapter is added to Chinese history, it will be found that the greatest chronicler of this heroic drama is also its chief protagonist. There is no more fitting observance of the first post-war year than the assembling in one collection of all available wartime messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, for the first time complete in English translation.

As I wrote of a partial collection previously published, this is not a book written with the benefit of hindsight, when the smoke has been cleared from the battlefield. It is a book made up of what the Generalissimo thought and what he said while leading a nation in life-and-death struggle. The words contained herein are the product of war's each crucial moment. They constitute a living record of China's war and stand as a monument to the spirit of the Chinese people as well as a document of primary importance to historians of the war.

Ten days after the Japanese army struck at Lukouchiao, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek solemnly defined for the nation the limit of China's endurance. In a few words he set the temper in which his people were to face the longest and cruellest war in our time. In his speech, delivered the day after, the Generalissimo, rather than deal with the burning issues of the front, gave a farsighted and deliberate exposition of national reconstruction.

Resistance and Reconstruction. Thus was laid down the twin creed that stood the Chinese nation on solid ground for eight terrible years and runs like a leit-motif throughout all his speeches.

FOREWORD

Another consistent theme which the speaker stressed to the world as much as to the Chinese themselves is this, that China's fight was not only for national survival but also for international peace and justice. The voice of comradeship reached out many times to America and Britain, to France and Russia, to Canada and Australia, to Burma and India. While events of the Second World War gloriously vindicated this firm belief, Chiang remained rocklike "to meet a myriad of changes with no change" and admonished his people, both before and after Pearl Harbor, with the Chinese equivalent of "God helps those who help themselves."

There are other shining threads that bind these pages. To the ugly face of civil strife which was showing itself even before the foe was driven from the land, Chiang, as head of the Chinese Government, had from the beginning insisted on national unity and on a political solution of all differences. Nor did he refrain from addressing the Japanese people, whom he never considered enemy but rather as dupes of the Japanese militarists.

What started as simple self-defense soon became another stage in China's Revolutionary struggle to constitute itself a democratic nation, free and equal in a family of nations. In the War of Resistance, as it dragged on, were telescoped all the historical forces initiated by Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic. War has hastened the process toward constitutional government and emphasized the need for industrialization; the two, in turn, are predicated on national independence.

As leader of the war and executant of Revolution's will, Chiang speaks in many voices. He is the resolute soldier; the able executive; the master strategist—"Our policy is to gain time by the sacrifice of space and to win the final triumph through the accumulation of small victories"; the steadfast Christian—"One who wishes to succeed in his work, especially one engaged in a revolutionary task, must be free from superstition and yet he must be a man of faith"; the stern reformer denouncing political and social weaknesses in his own country; and the world statesman, giving at every turn a correct prognosis of world developments.

The present two-volume edition supersedes all previous collections and is the most comprehensive compilation of Generalissimo Chiang

FOREWORD

Kai-shek's wartime messages, both written and spoken. The total of 160 items are arranged in chronological order though, in the nature of the war's progress, they fall roughly into five general sections. The first section covers the period during which China defied Japan and surprised the world with her stubborn stand at Shanghai and everywhere the enemy attacked. The second stage of the war was keynoted by the Commander-in-Chief when, after Japan's sack of Nanking, he declared simply: "We prefer to fight on." The outbreak of war in Europe further strengthened China's convictions by underscoring their universal application. In the third section, the problems of China's rebuilding are more and more discussed, with emphasis on both the material and the spiritual basis of prolonged resistance. And the epic of the war moves inexorably on to its next phase when China was destined to be joined by allies in the Pacific in the common fight against the Japanese aggressor. The fifth and final section covers more recent ground and brings the story to its epochal climax, from the United Nations organization to victory in Europe and Japan's unconditional surrender.

Indeed, no human drama was enacted on such a grand scale and so full of strife and conflicts, tragedy and fulfillment, as narrated in these pages. In line with this thought, two speeches not falling in the eight-year wartime period are included, to form a sort of Prologue and Epilogue, respectively. These both have to do with Manchuria, lost and regained, but fraught with significance still to all who would not see another war in this world.

Literally more than eight years in the making, this book of and about the war would not have been possible at any time before final victory was achieved. The casual reader may come upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the first time here, and for him the editors have made every effort to supply the necessary background and place the material in proper historical perspective. The serious student will find much new material in these volumes, although an occasional speech was reported in the Allied press and several interim collections have appeared at various times during the war.

Compared to the eloquence of Roosevelt and Churchill, Chiang is less familiar to the Western reader and may seem heavy and repetitious. This is attributable to the fact that the Generalissimo, in

FOREWORD

conformity with Chinese oratorical conventions, does not seek to give his messages a high news content. On each occasion he summarizes the trend of world events and supplies enough of the immediate setting; but, instead of timing himself for a dramatic announcement of some new development, he is content to dwell on time-tested truths. He is more often exhortatory than reportorial; rather than comment on the day's happenings, he addresses formal and recurrent occasions, such as the opening and closing of a session of the People's Political Council, anniversaries of the war and of the Republic.

Taken as a whole, however, there is no escaping the broad sweep and impact of these state papers, as well as their essential unity and continuity. Generations from now the fact that China resisted Japan, that by resisting she achieved an unprecedented status of equality among peace-loving nations, and that she emerged victorious in resistance, will be the only "news" of consequence.

All living speech, when captured on paper for posterity and lifted out of the compelling interest of its milieu, must suffer of necessity; in this case, the difficulty is multiplied when the original, delivered in the Chinese language, has to be recast into suitable English. No one who does not have equal mastery of the two widely different tongues can imagine the magnitude and complexity of the task of rendering into English the bulk of the material that goes between these covers. For its accomplishment we owe a great debt to the three scholars—Dr. Frank W. Price, translator of Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu I*, Dr. Albert F. Lutley and Mr. Ma Pin-ho, with their many friends and co-workers—whose respective contributions are noted elsewhere in this volume. In all pieces the translators have endeavored to make their English faithful to the meaning and spirit of the Chinese text, and in style forceful and readable in itself.

In many cases the three translators were aided in their work by English versions, rapid translations of the Generalissimo's messages for immediate release to the press, made by staff members of the Ministry of Information. These men, collectively, are also responsible for the translations of all items not identified with individual translators. The entire manuscript has been checked and edited for this edition by Mr. George Kao, who also prepared it for the press. I am expressing the wish of all who are associated in this job when I

FOREWORD

say that credit for its successful completion goes, above all, to Dr. Hollington K. Tong, who conceived and began this work which my colleagues and I were enabled to bring to fruition.

CHING-LIN HSIA

NEW YORK CITY
May 20, 1946

A Glossary of Terms

THE WAR OF RESISTANCE—*Kang Chan*, the name by which China's eight-year war against Japanese invasion is known to the Chinese.

RESISTANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION—*Kang Chan Chien Kuo*, the official program and policy for the nation adopted by the Emergency National Congress of the Kuomintang on April 2, 1938, and by the People's Political Council on July 13, 1938. Full translation, "The Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction."

MUKDEN INCIDENT—the Japanese attack at Mukden, capital of Liaoning Province, on September 18, 1931, marking the beginning of Japan's invasion of China in Manchuria, and now recognized as the act of aggression that started the Second World War.

THE NORTHEASTERN PROVINCES—the Provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang, in the northeastern corner of China, commonly known in Chinese as the Three Eastern Provinces or the Northeast, and known to the West as Manchuria. Since the Japanese first invaded and occupied these provinces and, in 1933, the adjacent Province of Jehol, they have been called collectively the Four Northeastern Provinces.

TANGKU AGREEMENT—the so-called Tangku Truce of May 31, 1933, concluded for the suspension of hostilities which, resulting from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Jehol, had extended into Peiping and Tientsin areas. Both China and Japan undertook to withdraw their troops, the Chinese from the territory between the Great Wall and the Peiping area; the Japanese to the Great Wall. The agreement, exacted by *force majeure*, was objectionable to the Chinese. It promised renewed Japanese aggression in provisions for the Japanese Army "at any time to use aeroplanes or other means to verify the carrying out" of Chinese troops withdrawals and for a Chinese police force in the demilitarized zone "not hostile to Japanese feelings."

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

LUKOUCHIAO INCIDENT—the Japanese attack near Peiping on July 7, 1937, that marked the beginning of China's War of Resistance. Lukouchiao is known to the West as Marco Polo Bridge.

WUHAN—collective name for the three cities, Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang, on the Yangtze River in Hupeh Province, center of China's resistance for the period between the fall of Nanking on December 13, 1937, and the evacuation of Hankow on October 25, 1938.

THE REVOLUTION—designating the Revolution started by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1912 it succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty and establishing the Chinese Republic. The continuity of the Revolution is seen in subsequent efforts to bring about complete achievement of Dr. Sun's revolutionary goals—the Northern Expedition led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in 1926 is known as the National Revolution; the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression is considered another stage in the Revolution.

THE REPUBLIC—China since the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912. The 35th year of the Republic corresponds to 1946.

DOUBLE TENTH—the tenth day of the tenth month, observed each year as China's National Independence Day. On October 10, 1911, the first Revolutionary uprising broke out in Wuchang which eventually led to the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty.

POLITICAL TUTELAGE—one of the three stages in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program for the attainment of political democracy for China: (1) Military unification, (2) political tutelage, (3) constitutional government.

TSUNGLI—Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), Father of the Chinese Republic, referred to by Generalissimo Chiang as the Leader (of the Nationalist Party).

SAN MIN CHU I—Dr. Sun's revolutionary aims and the basic doctrine of the Chinese Republic: *Min Tsu Chu I* (The Principle of Nationalism), *Min Chuan Chu I* (The Principle of Democracy), and *Min Sheng Chu I* (The Principle of People's Livelihood).

KUOMINTANG—The Nationalist Party, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1893 and now under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as *Tsungtsai* (Director-General). The Party is dedi-

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

cated to the task of achieving China's Revolution and the realization of *San Min Chu I*.

THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT—founded in 1934 by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang to rejuvenate the nation through promotion of a regular life guided by the four ancient Chinese virtues: *Li* (Propriety), *I* (Justice), *Lien* (Integrity) and *Ch'ih* (Conscientiousness).

HSIEN—the basic unit in the new system for local administration promulgated by the Government in 1939, translated *county* or *district*. Before the end of the war, China's 28 provinces were divided into 1,934 *hsien*, more than half of which had been reorganized into autonomous administrative units under the new system.

TAO-CHIA SYSTEM—an ancient Chinese system of registration and mutual guarantee under which households are organized for local administration and self-defense.

PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL—a wartime representative assembly organized "to utilize the best minds in national affairs and to rally all elements in the country in time of war." It had the power to receive Government reports, interpellate the Government, and make proposals to the Government. Before putting into execution any important measure concerning domestic and foreign affairs the Government was required to submit it to the PPC for consideration and endorsement. PPC membership included all political parties as well as non-partisan leaders. The First People's Political Council began its sessions at Hankow in July, 1938. The Fourth PPC convened on the eighth anniversary of the war, July 7, 1945, with 150 of its 290 members elected by the provincial and municipal assemblies.

HWANG-TI—literally the Yellow Emperor, legendary founder of the Chinese civilization who is credited with fighting successfully against the barbarians.

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P R E L U D E

Sept. 18, 1931—Japan invades China's Three Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria).

Jan. 7, 1932—U.S. sends “Non-Recognition Note” to China and Japan.

Jan. 28, 1932—Japan attacks Shanghai.

Feb. 24, 1933—League of Nations adopts Lytton Report and pledges its members not to recognize puppet state of “Manchukuo.”

July 1934—*Resistance to Aggression and Renaissance of the Nation.* Address at Officers Training Camp at Lushan, Kiangsi.

F I R S T Y E A R

July 7, 1937—Japanese troops open fire on Chinese Army at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge), outskirts of Peiping.

July 17, 1937—*The Limit of China's Endurance.* Address to the nation's leaders at Lushan, Kiangsi.

July 18, 1937—*On National Reconstruction.* Address to the Summer Training Corps at Lushan, Kiangsi.

July 1937—*Drive Out the Invader.* Message to the nation's armed forces after the Japanese capture of Peiping and Tientsin.

Aug. 13, 1937—Fighting breaks out in Shanghai.

Aug. 21, 1937—China and Soviet Russia sign non-aggression pact.

Sept. 21, 1937—The “Government of the Soviet Republic of China”

NOTE: Messages of Generalissimo Chiang are listed in italics and related to the leading events of the eight-year war.

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dissolves itself. The Chinese Communist Party pledges support to the National Government.

Sept. 24, 1937—*National Solidarity*. Statement in connection with the Chinese Communist Party's declaration for the United Front.

Oct. 5, 1937—President Roosevelt delivers "quarantine the aggressors" speech.

Oct. 6, 1937—League of Nations adopts resolution calling Nine-Power Treaty Conference. U.S. State Department issues statement condemning Japan as invader of China and violator of Nine-Power Treaty and Kellogg Pact.

Oct. 9, 1937—*Fight to Win*. Broadcast on the eve of the "Double Tenth" National Holiday.

Nov. 6, 1937—Japan joins Germany, Italy in anti-Comintern Pact.

Nov. 12, 1937—Shanghai falls.

Nov. 15, 1937—Fifteen nations at Brussels Conference of Nine-Power Treaty signatories adopt resolution condemning Japan.

Nov. 20, 1937—China moves its capital from Nanking to Chungking.

Dec. 12, 1937—Japanese planes sink U.S. gunboat "Panay" in the Yangtze River.

Dec. 13, 1937—Nanking taken by Japanese troops who plunder the city, perpetrate wholesale atrocities.

Dec. 16, 1937—*After the Fall of Nanking*. Message to the nation from Field Headquarters.

Dec. 20, 1937—"Scorched Earth Policy" first carried out systematically in Tsingtao.

Feb. 19, 1938—*Avenge This Great Wrong*. Address on the fourth anniversary of the New Life Movement.

April 2, 1938—People's Political Council created.

April 8, 1938—Japanese army routed in Battle of Taierhchwang, exploding myth of its invincibility.

April 16, 1938—*My Religious Faith*. Broadcast to Chinese Christians on Easter Eve.

May 20, 1938—Chinese planes "bomb" Japanese cities with leaflets. Japanese claim occupation of Hsuchow.

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June 6, 1938—Fall of Kaifeng, capital of Honan Province.
June 12, 1938—Fall of Anking, capital of Anhwei Province.
June 16, 1938—*The Responsibilities of China's Youth.* Address to the nation's youth on the organization of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.
June 19, 1938—Japanese checked in Honan by Yellow River flood.
July 6, 1938—*China's Path to Victory.* Address at inaugural session of People's Political Council.

S E C O N D Y E A R

July 7, 1938—First anniversary of war.
The Choice Before Us. Message to the armed forces and civilians.
Japan: Enemy of Humanity. Message to friendly nations.
An Appeal to Japan. Message to the people of Japan.
Aug. 7, 1938—Russian and Japanese troops clash at Changkufeng in border dispute.
Aug. 13, 1938—*Our Own Successes.* Message to Chinese in occupied areas.
Aug. 28, 1938—*Revolutionary Education.* Address to the first graduating class of the Central Political Training Institute.
Sept. 14, 1938—Tokyo Foreign Office declares Japan is prepared to join forces with Germany in Czech crisis.
Sept. 18, 1938—*To the People of Manchuria.* Message to the people in the Northeast on the seventh anniversary of the Mukden incident.
Sept. 29, 1938—Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier sign Munich Pact partitioning Czechoslovakia.
Oct. 10, 1938—*Worldwide Significance of China's Struggle.* Message on twenty-seventh anniversary of Chinese Republic.
Our Power of Resistance Grows Stronger. Address on twenty-seventh anniversary of Chinese Republic.

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Oct. 21, 1938—Japanese troops occupy Canton, capital of Kwangtung Province.

Oct. 25, 1938—Chinese evacuate Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang. *A Turning Point in Our Struggle.* Message to the people.

Nov. 1, 1938—People's Political Council pledges full support to Generalissimo Chiang.

Nov. 28, 1938—*The Second Stage of War.* Message from the war front to the Second Session of the People's Political Council.

Dec. 15, 1938—U.S. grants China \$25,000,000 commercial credit.

Dec. 22, 1938—Premier Konoye announces Japan's intention to create "a new order in East Asia."

Dec. 26, 1938—*Japan's So-Called New Order.* Address to Government leaders.

Dec. 29, 1938—U.S. Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson makes first automobile trip over the newly opened Burma Road.

Dec. 31, 1938—U.S. firmly rejects Japanese "new order." *Wholesome Recreation.* New Year's speech.

Jan. 1, 1939—Wang Ching-wei expelled from Kuomintang.

Jan. 19, 1939—*Responsibility of Local Leaders.* Message to gentry and educators.

Jan. 26, 1939—*China Cannot Be Conquered.* Speech opening Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

Feb. 3, 1939—*Reply to Tribute from Oxford.*

Feb. 7, 1939—Generalissimo Chiang elected president of the Supreme National Defense Council.

Feb. 10, 1939—Hainan Island occupied by Japan.

Feb. 12, 1939—*Mobilizing Our Spiritual Forces.* Address at the Third Session of the People's Political Council.
Japanese Landing on Hainan Island. Interview with a group of foreign correspondents.

Feb. 18, 1939—*The New Life Movement in Wartime.* Broadcast on eve of the fifth anniversary of the New Life Movement.

Feb. 20, 1939—*Message to the Christians of America.*

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Feb. 21, 1939—*China's March Toward Democracy*. Closing address to the Third Session of the People's Political Council.

March 5, 1939—*Educators and the War*. Address to the Third National Educational Conference.

March 8, 1939—London announces £5,000,000 credit to China.

March 15, 1939—German troops enter Prague; Czechoslovakia falls.

March 27, 1939—Nanchang falls.

March 29, 1939—Republican Spain surrenders to Franco after three years of war.

March 31, 1939—Japan annexes Spratly Island, about 700 miles west of Manila, 300 miles south of Saigon and 1,000 miles from Hongkong.

April 7, 1939—Italy invades and later conquers Albania.

April 17, 1939—*Spiritual Mobilization and Victory*. Radio message to the people.

April 18, 1939—*The Basis for Peace*. Interview with Chungking press correspondents.

May 1, 1939—*The Citizen's Pact*. Address at inauguration of Spiritual Mobilization Movement.

May 3, 1939—Chungking heavily raided by Japanese bombers.

May 15, 1939—*Wartime Production*. Address before the National Production Conference.

May 16, 1939—*Bombing of Civilian Areas and Open Towns*. Message to the nation.

May 21, 1939—*China's Struggle and International Peace*. Message to the second annual conference of the China Branch of the International Peace Campaign.

June 14, 1939—Japan starts blockade of British and French concessions in Tientsin.

June 21, 1939—*A Call to Overseas Chinese*. Message published in a magazine.

June 22, 1939—Japanese forces occupy port of Swatow.

June 24, 1939—Announcement of Sino-Soviet trade agreement based on principles of mutuality and reciprocity.

T H I R D Y E A R

July 7, 1939—Second anniversary of war.

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*The Only Answer to Aggressors. Message to the
China Campaign Committee, London.*

Prepare for Victory. Message to the Chinese armed forces and civilians.

A Common Front Against Aggression. Message to friendly Powers.

Pensioning the Families of the War Dead. Message to the families of men and officers killed in battle.

Resistance in the Enemy's Rear. Message to the Chinese people in war zones and occupied areas.

To the People of Japan.

July 23, 1939—Anglo-Japanese agreement signed.

July 24, 1939—No Far Eastern Munich. Address at weekly assembly of National Government.

July 26, 1939—U.S. denounces American-Japanese trade treaty.

July 28, 1939—*Appreciation of the Y.M.C.A. Message to the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. on its fiftieth anniversary.*

July 29, 1939—*Chinese Mohammedans and the War.* Address to Chinese Mohammedan leaders.

Appeal to Britain. Statement to the News Chronicle. London.

Aug. 12, 1939—*Laying the Foundations of Local Self-Government.*
Second message to educators and community leaders.

Aug. 13, 1939—*Mission of the People of Shanghai*. Message on the second anniversary of the beginning of hostilities in the Shanghai area.

Aug. 18, 1939—*Justice and Equality*. Address made upon receiving a banner from the headquarters of the International Peace Campaign.

Aug. 22, 1939—Germany signs non-aggression pact with Soviet Union.

Aug. 23, 1939—Chungking gives Jawaharlal Nehru warm welcome.
Aug. 29, 1939—Effect of the World Crisis on Chinese Resistance

Aug. 29, 1939 Effect of the World Crisis on Chinese Resistance.
Interview with Chinese press correspondents.

Sept. 1, 1939—German troops invade Poland.

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Sept. 9, 1939—England and France at war with Germany.
China and the European War. Opening address at Fourth Session of the People's Political Council.

Sept. 18, 1939—*Rights and Obligations of the Chinese People.* Closing address at Fourth Session of the People's Political Council.

Oct. 1, 1939—*Wang Ching-wei, the Traitor.* Interview with Chinese and foreign correspondents.

Oct. 10, 1939—*The People's War.* Message to the nation on twenty-eighth anniversary of Chinese Republic.

Oct. 16, 1939—China scores great victory at Changsha.

Nov. 12, 1939—*Japan's Dilemma.* Opening address at Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Nov. 23, 1939—*Wang Ching-wei's Secret Agreement with Japan.* Message to peoples of friendly Powers.
We Will Not Be Slaves. Message to the Chinese armed forces and civilians on the exposure of Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan.

Nov. 25, 1939—Nanning, Kwangsi Province, devastated by fire from enemy bombings.

Dec. 29, 1939—Japanese offensive in North Kwangtung halted.

Jan. 21, 1940—Japan-Wang Ching-wei secret agreement exposed.

Feb. 18, 1940—*New Life in Wartime.* Broadcast to the nation on sixth anniversary of New Life Movement.

Feb. 20, 1940—*The Educator's Mission in China Today.* Message to the principals of all schools and colleges.

March 7, 1940—Second U.S. commercial loan of \$20,000,000 to China.

March 11, 1940—*Citizens' Education.* Message to the National Educational Conference.

March 12, 1940—*Spiritual Ramparts and Weapons.* Broadcast on first anniversary of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement.

March 19, 1940—*Education in Uniform.* Speech at a dinner to delegates of the National Educational Conference.

March 22, 1940—*The Responsibilities of Modern Journalists.* Mes-

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sage to journalism graduates of Central Political Academy.

March 25, 1940—China recaptures Wuyuan in western Suiyuan.

March 30, 1940—Wang Ching-wei's puppet government set up in Nanking, refused recognition by U.S. Secretary of State Hull. President Lin Sen orders Wang's arrest.

April 1, 1940—*No Relaxation of Our Efforts.* Opening address to Fifth Session of the People's Political Council.

April 9, 1940—German troops occupy Denmark; invade Norway.

April 10, 1940—People's Political Council closes with adoption of Revised Bill of the Draft Constitution.

People in Government. Closing address to Fifth Session of People's Political Council.

May 1, 1940—*The Way to Local Autonomy.* Address at Szechuan Training Academy.

May 10, 1940—Germany invades Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg.

May 25, 1940—Chinese troops break out of Chungtiao Mountains, Shensi.

June 3, 1940—*Opium the National Enemy.* Message on the 100th anniversary of the burning of British merchants' opium at Canton.

June 4, 1940—British troops evacuate Dunkirk.

How to Bring a New China into Existence. Preface to "China Shall Rise Again" by Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

June 10, 1940—Japan takes Ichang, westernmost point of invasion on Yangtze.

June 20, 1940—France gives in to Japan on Indo-China.

June 22, 1940—France signs armistice with Germany.

Prologue

especially of all the army, has been completely unified. What is the center of this unity of thought? It is this idea of loyalty to the emperor and this idea of patriotism; or, to put it more plainly, of loyalty to the Imperial House, and sacrificial service to the State. But this, in the Japanese mind, involves more than just protecting one's own country; it means the invasion of other countries. The Japanese consider their own territory too small, and maintain that they cannot exist on those three small islands. If they cannot expand southwards, then they must expand northwards. So the minds of all the people, and particularly of all the army officers,* are full of wild ideas of expansion and aggression. They believe that they cannot exist unless they invade the territory of others.

During my stay in Japan, I frequently discussed international and political questions with Japanese army officers. They said to me quite frankly, "Treaties are merely scraps of paper that can easily be torn up." This shows that the Japanese do not respect promises. Treaties of whatever nature are meaningless in their eyes. They have always believed in force, and have worshiped military might. They are always getting ready for war with those whom they regard as their enemies. The will of their officers in time of peace is concentrated upon the task of preparing the mind of the people for war, so that as soon as war breaks out they will be able to put up a united front against the foe and fight on with courage and self-sacrifice. Such a spirit is one of the most important factors in defeating an enemy. It is because the Japanese have this spirit that they are able again and again to conquer others. At present their military preparations are more complete than those of any other country in the world, and so they have been bold enough to invade China with the hope of establishing their hegemony over all of East Asia. This is the present situation as far as our enemy is concerned.

China's Unpreparedness

Now let us look at our own condition. How do we stand? Have we fulfilled the necessary conditions for resisting the enemy? We ourselves can answer that question simply and sadly in one brief

* The Chinese term here covers any branch of the fighting services, whether army, navy or air force.

sentence: "We have made no preparations whatsoever." Not only materially are we unprepared, not only have we not organized our resources, but we are not even unified in thought and spirit. I make bold to say that if we were now to be involved in a war with Japan, certain unprincipled and divisive groups opposed to the Government would be sure to take advantage of the situation to create trouble. This alone would be sufficient to seal our fate. Even before the enemy's actual attack, internally there would be chaos. In such circumstances how could we possibly resist the enemy? How could we revive our race and nation? How could we ensure that our children would continue to enjoy the glorious heritage of five thousand years which our ancestors have bequeathed to us? From the military point of view we have not the qualifications at present for an independent state; we are not fit to be called a modern nation. So naturally we cannot resist Japan, but must suffer at her hands oppression and insult.

But we must all realize that the present problem is not simply China's problem; it is a problem affecting the whole of East Asia; in fact, the whole of the Pacific. What Japan is striving for is the domination of the Pacific. So this is not merely a question between Japan and China, but between Japan and the whole world. Why? I will explain in the words of our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. "China today," he said, "is in the position of a 'sub-colony,' that is of a country that is not simply oppressed or 'protected' by one state, but is subject to the encroachments or oppression of all the Great Powers combined, and reduced to the position of being the colony of them all—a position far more painful than that of the ordinary colony." In other words, China today is a colony of all the Great Powers, so that if Japan wishes to monopolize China as her own private colony, she will first have to settle the issue with the other Great Powers. If Japan cannot defeat the Great Powers, she can neither seize the hegemony of East Asia, nor settle the problem of the Pacific. In this case she will be unable to become mistress of East Asia, and she will be unable to swallow China.

Japan's Hostility to the Whole World

We must, however, realize that while our domestic situation is complicated, the international situation is even more complex. Just

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because China is a colony of all the World Powers, if Japan alone wishes to swallow her she must first of all conquer the world. As long as Japan cannot conquer the world, so long will she be unable to destroy China, and dominate East Asia.

At present, although she has made all the necessary military preparations for invading China, and could fight any one strong state, Japan is not in a position to conquer all the Great Powers, bring the world under her domination, and realize her wild dreams of aggression. In such circumstances our military men ought to pay special attention to the changes in the international situation as well as to those within China. They should carefully consider whether we have the actual means, and also the suitable opportunity, for offering resistance to Japan, and for regenerating our nation and people.

I can assure you that Japan certainly does not have the necessary strength to bring the World Powers under her control; therefore we can confidently assert that Japan will not be able to swallow up China nor to establish hegemony over East Asia. China certainly does have the means and the strength to resist; and more than this, she has an excellent opportunity now of resisting Japan and of reviving her own people. We military officers ought, therefore, to have strong self-confidence; for the more Japan invades China, the better is our opportunity for reviving the national spirit.

The Need for Self-Confidence

We need to recognize this fact, and to develop the strength that comes from self-confidence. We must not destroy or despise ourselves and lose our spirit; this will only increase the enemy's arrogance. If we are afraid as soon as anyone mentions Japan, if we are fearful as soon as we see a Japanese (as though we were helpless and hopeless, merely waiting to be slaughtered), then we are no longer worthy descendants of Hwang Ti,* we are not fit to be citizens of the Republic of China; still less are we fit to be officers of the Revolutionary Army.

Japan's True Aim

At this point I would like to explain the objective of Japan's

* Legendary ancient ruler of China, honored as the ancestor of the Chinese race.

military preparations. This will help us better to understand the present world situation, the methods we must adopt to make ourselves strong, and the opportunity that lies before us of reviving our nation. Our four Northeastern Provinces have already been invaded and seized by the Japanese. Having obtained their first objective on the continent, the Japanese will certainly take the next step and invade the whole of China. Their military preparations, therefore, will be more intensive than before. But are the present military preparations aimed at China? I would reply no; the Japanese do not take China into consideration. The Japanese preparations are not aimed at us; they pay no attention to us officers, nor to the Chinese Army nor to the Chinese people. China is not an adequate military objective. Although they are daily making disturbances in Eastern Chinkiang; although they are using traitors to work for them throughout North China; although they are actively threatening us and invading our country, yet their real military objective is not China. Why? Because with their present military strength the occupation of China is no question. But even if they should occupy the whole of China, they would be unable to maintain their occupation unless they could solve the Pacific problem. Japan has long recognized the fact that unless she can completely subdue all the various Powers with interests in the Pacific, she cannot attain her objective of absorbing China and dominating East Asia. Therefore the present preparations of the Japanese army are really aimed at Soviet Russia, and those of her navy at England and America. In order to be able to absorb China, Japan must first conquer Soviet Russia, eat up America, and destroy England. Only so can she reach her ultimate objective. This is the national policy of the Japanese government, and was decided upon long ago.

We should appreciate how painstaking have been Japan's preparations. Japan's enemy is not merely China. She has other foes, and the greatest are on her flanks. While China is in the path of Japanese aggression, America lies behind Japan, and Russia is on her flank.

We are all aware that in war, troops do not simply make frontal attacks. To confine one's efforts to frontal attacks is insufficient. In fact, this form of attack is futile, unless adequate preparations have been made to deal with the flank and rear. China, of course.

is the objective of Japan's frontal attack; but if Japan uses her main forces in a frontal attack, she is bound to be defeated. For it is perfectly evident that Japan cannot conquer China. Japan cannot put forth her full effort in this direction when her strongest enemies are in her rear and on her flank — the U.S.A. in her rear, Russia on her right, and Britain on her left (in the South Seas).

Japan's fundamental weaknesses and defects thus stand forth clearly. We officers ought thoroughly to understand the international situation, and also the present situation in East Asia. This will give us a strong courage and a feeling of security, and will convince us that we possess the means and the strength to resist Japan and revive China.

Japan's False Conception of the Chinese Army

There is a Japanese book which says: "The present Chinese Army knows how to engage in civil strife only. It has not grasped in the least the concept of the 'state,' or the idea of the 'nation.' For the next twenty years the Chinese Army will not only be unable to fight any other power, it will be unwilling to do so." This is the present Japanese conception of our army, but they do not realize what a serious miscalculation they have made.

The book just referred to was written by a so-called "China-hand," who claimed to have made a thorough investigation into and study of all things Chinese. Unfortunately he was so biased that his picture of China is wide of the mark. If we think back to the fifteenth year of the Republic (1926), we shall recall how General Tanaka categorically asserted that the Chinese Revolutionary Army would within half a year most certainly destroy itself in fratricidal strife and end in ruin; or, in any case, would be unable to complete the Northern Expedition and unify China. But subsequent events proved this ill-intentioned prophecy completely false. And so, when the Japanese saw the troops of our Revolutionary Army actually reach Shantung and defeat Chang Tsung-chang, they immediately sent troops to occupy Tsinan. Their purpose in moving these troops was to bar the way to any further advance on the part of the Chinese Revolutionary Army, and prevent it from extending its influence north of the Yellow River. This is perfectly evident. Japan is clearly determined to prevent our Revolutionary Army from unifying China.

Japan does not want China to have a unified government and to become a united nation. For so long as China is disunited, Japan can control everything and perpetuate civil strife, thus inducing China to destroy herself.

The Beginning of China's Rebirth

Read the books written before the fifteenth year of the Republic by the so-called "China-hands" of the Japanese General Staff and Ministry of War after their investigations. You will find them all saying that the members of the Kuomintang are at sixes and sevens, and cannot possibly unify China. But to their amazement, between 1926 and 1928 the Republic of China, under the guidance of the spirit of our late Leader, was actually unified through the efforts of the Revolutionary Army in accordance with the Three Principles of the People. The Japanese were all convinced that the Chinese forces had no national spirit and that the Revolutionary Army would never be able to unify China. Yet by 1928 the Revolutionary Army had reached Peiping, completing the unification of the country; and the ideas of the Three Principles of the People had spread throughout the nation. China's soldiers and officers, regardless of their personal affiliations, all gave unreserved allegiance to the Three Principles, and of their own accord joined the Revolutionary Army. They could all see that the Three Principles were the only revolutionary principles for the salvation of the State and nation. They all became conscious of the necessity for united support of the Kuomintang and the National Government, and for completing our mission of national unification.

Up to 1928 the Japanese had never dreamed of such a possibility. Before the death of our great Leader, the Japanese were afraid of him and jealous of him, believing that the longer he lived, the greater would grow the influence of China's Revolution. So long as he lived, they regarded him as Japan's great enemy. After his death they believed that neither the Kuomintang nor the Revolutionary Army would be able to unify China. So the unification of the country in the seventeenth year of the Republic (1928) came as a complete surprise. They had never imagined such a thing. In particular, they never thought that the Three Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria) would change their flag to that of the Kuomin-

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tang, thus completing the unification of China in an amazingly short time. The rapid progress and ever-expanding influence of the Revolution could not but produce consternation among the Japanese, a consternation which later developed into fear and alarm.

In the past the Japanese have regarded us Chinese soldiers as one and all completely selfish, lacking in national consciousness, devoid of any thoughts of national interest, slaves of feudalistic ideas, and therefore unwilling to support the Central Government in carrying out its policy of unification. It was therefore a complete surprise to them that, in the seventeenth year of the Republic, unity of thought was actually achieved throughout the armies of China through the Three Principles of the People, and the whole nation was unified under the national flag of the Blue Sky and White Sun.

From the very beginning the Japanese have harbored evil intentions toward us. From first to last they have imagined that we soldiers of China could never achieve anything. Fortunately in the seventeenth year of the Republic we were able to effect the first stage of national unification, and contrary to the expectations of the Japanese, to remove this approach. It was their evil design that produced the book referred to above, which said that the Chinese army would not be able to fight a foreign country for the next twenty years. It was their evil design that made the Japanese in 1926 assert that the Chinese Army had no patriotism and no idea of unifying the country. The result has been the same as before: their prophecies have been shown to be gross miscalculations. Their so-called "China-hands" have been so full of prejudice that they have been utterly unable to understand China.

Japanese Spies Are Everywhere

Instead of coming to see the situation for themselves, the Japanese have sent secret agents everywhere, relying on their reports for information. These secret agents can be found by the side of every detachment of the Chinese Army and in every organization. They have thought out all manner of devices for spying out the internal condition of China, and having found a few unscrupulous Chinese soldiers who, as a matter of fact, were looking for an opportunity to create disturbances within the country, they have categorically declared that every Chinese soldier is devoid of patriotic spirit. But

we were born Chinese, descendants of Hwang Ti; we are fellow-countrymen of the Republic of China. Who among us does not know how to love his country, his race, and his fellow-countrymen? Those who do not love their country and people, who carve out little kingdoms for themselves and set themselves up as rulers over them, bandits seeking to line their own pockets: these are the public enemies of the people, sinners against the whole nation. But their number is very small. To regard the ideas of this small minority as typical of the majority of Chinese, or as typical of the whole Chinese Army is the height of stupidity. And so the Japanese in their judgment of China's condition—of "the enemy's condition," as they say—are already fundamentally wrong. This will be a major factor in their ultimate failure.

Japan's and China's Weaknesses

This contempt of the Japanese for China is not only a big mistake; it is a basic weakness, and the enemy's weakness is our strength. If we can take full advantage of his weak points, then in the future we will most certainly be able to devise means of resisting the foe, of destroying these foreign gangsters, and of completing the renaissance of the Chinese nation.

Since the ultimate military objective of Japan is not China, we ought to be able to give him a severe blow while he is not paying much attention to us. But how are we going to do it? Not only do we not have the necessary military weapons, but our economic, educational, and political machinery—each fundamental for modern warfare—is not ready for a conflict with a modern state like Japan.

Just before the Japanese attacks upon Shanghai on January 28, 1932, I published an article in which I quoted some words of our late Leader addressed to the people of China. "All our fellow-countrymen," he said, "should realize that if we were rashly to fight Japan before the opportune moment had arrived, Japan would be able to occupy all the most important points in China within ten days, and then destroy China." These are the words of our great Leader, taken from the Three Principles of the People, in which he earnestly warned our nation of the dangers besetting it. Later some reactionaries asserted these words were my own, and insinuated

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that I was afraid of the Japanese, and dared not go to war with them. Whether the words are mine or those of our great Leader can be decided at once by reference to his published works.

We can afford to ignore these reactionaries, even though they spend their whole time in helping Japan by attacking their own government. But we ought to consider carefully why our late Leader said, "Japan could destroy China in ten days." It is because China does not possess the necessary equipment for waging modern warfare, and is not in a position to fight the troops of a modern state. If we do not wait for the opportune moment, but start war rashly and prematurely, the result will be only defeat and ruin. Not ten days but three days would suffice for the Japanese to seize all the strategic points on the coast or along the rivers. In fact, they could seize any place they wanted. In the west they could seize not merely Chungking, but even Chengtu; in the south they could occupy not only Kwangtung, but Wuchow and Yungning (in Kwangsi). Their potential strength has already been mobilized to the full, while their fleet has been stationed at strategic points up and down the coast. But it is not merely places on the coast or along the rivers that they could seize; any place is within their reach.

Not merely have the four Northeastern Provinces been seized, but the whole of North China is already virtually under their control. In North China all the important points on the railways and the convenient lines of communication through difficult but strategic ravines and passes were long ago the scene of Japanese military preparations, and can at any time be taken entirely under their control. Take the case of the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway. Although ostensibly they have not sent troops to take control of it, the Japanese workmen and merchants along the line are all ex-soldiers. The Japanese in Tientsin, Hankow, and similar important ports; in Chahar, Kalgan, and other places are all officers in plain clothes. With conditions as they are, all the Japanese have to do is to issue an order, and within three days they would be in possession of all the strategic points in China, and in a position to destroy us.

Japanese Are All Spies

At this point I want to warn you all, and I hope you will pay special attention to what I am going to say. You ought not to make

friends with the Japanese. There is not a Japanese we see who is not a spy, who is not a soldier in plain clothes. The French have two sentences to describe the Japanese. One says: "Of all the Japanese men abroad, there is not one who is not a spy." The other says: "Of all the Japanese women abroad, there is not one who is not a harlot." But their harlots are also spies. We officers especially ought to remember that whatever honeyed words the Japanese may speak to us, they are all after our flesh, they are all out to spy out our affairs, in order that they may destroy our nation. We must therefore be constantly alert and on our guard.

Although the Japanese have not sent soldiers in uniform to seize our strategic positions, actually they have been for some time past sending plain-clothes soldiers, to make little by little the necessary preparations. Not only have Peiping, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Canton, Hankow, and Shanghai—foreign concessions or commercial ports, which have obviously been bases for Japanese schemes of military aggression—been virtually occupied by plain-clothes troops, but all the places visited by Japanese warships, or where there are Japanese consulates, have also been occupied in all but name. They are fully prepared to take over any place when the opportunity occurs.

China's Bondage

Despite these conditions we ourselves have made no preparations; we have made no arrangements for the defense of the State. If now we were rashly to enter upon a war with Japan, would it not simply mean the destruction of our own nation, and that to no purpose? Would this not be the height of folly? When you have made no preparations, but your enemy has already laid an ambush all around you, and is only waiting for you to move in order immediately to rise up and surround you, is it not suicidal for you to take the initiative, and so play into his hands? Anyone, therefore, who says that we can go to war with Japan at the present time is living in a fool's paradise. He simply does not know his own condition, and he doesn't know his enemy.

Then how can we resist Japan and restore our nation? Ought we to put our whole effort into preparations for national defense, and use every ounce of strength in manufacturing planes and guns?

Could we then fight Japan? You officers know perfectly well that even if we began immediately to increase our total military equipment, and to reorganize our whole national defense, we could not get ready in time, we could not resist Japan. Not only so, but if we began now and continued to put our whole strength and soul into military preparations for the next thirty years, it would not be enough. At the end of thirty years, the idea of defeating Japan by means of our material resources would still be nothing more than an idle dream—particularly when we realize that Japan would never allow us to perfect our preparations for national defense, and would never give us the chance of manufacturing the weapons we need. But suppose for the sake of argument that Japan should allow us to continue putting our full strength into preparations for national defense, do you think for one moment that we have adequate resources in men and material to carry out such a program in time? For instance, we want to build fortifications along the frontiers and forts along the sea-coast, but a single 24-centimeter gun cost \$4,000,000, exclusive of shells. Just this one item is beyond our resources, financial or technical. And when you remember that Japan would certainly never allow us to make any preparations of this kind, that wherever we began to prepare or reorganize, along would come Japanese warships to bring pressure to bear on us and create disturbances, making it impossible for us to begin, you can see how impossible it all is.

All of you must clearly understand that so long as Japan is undefeated, our preparations for national defense cannot be perfected, the State cannot be made secure, and there cannot be any hope for the preservation of our nation. You should all wake up to the realization of this fact: that so long as Japan has any military might, she will not allow us to reorganize our national defense, or to become united as a nation. This being so, how can we possibly make any adequate preparations to fight Japan? We have neither the opportunity nor the ability. Let us not indulge in wishful thinking.

The Need of Patience and Perseverance

The more difficult the circumstances in which we Chinese soldiers find ourselves, and the greater our responsibilities, the more we need

the spirit of self-sacrifice, the more we need patient perseverance, steadfast endurance, and strong self-reliance. We must in particular guard all military secrets. Foreign armies are able, in accordance with prearranged plans and protected by arrangements for national defense, to train their troops and to prepare for war without any feeling of insecurity. But we have no means of co-ordinating the whole of our national defense and of making all necessary preparations in accordance with a fixed plan. We are everywhere subject to enemy pressure, and unable to secure any protection through our "national defense." The enemy is watching us every moment and is constantly creating disturbances. In fact he is in a position to annihilate us. If the Japanese want to send troops to any place, they can immediately do so. If they wish to dispatch warships to a certain point, the warships can immediately proceed thither. If their navy and army cannot reach a place, they can always send their planes and destroy it with their bombs. At present the life of our nation and people is entirely in the hands of the Japanese. We have no freedom of action.

Recently I have heard people say that the Kwangtung and Kwangsi area is the base from which we should revive China. They think that while the Japanese can at any time invade North China and the Yangtze Valley, they will never be able to reach the southwest interior. This is a very superficial idea. They do not know the real nature of the Japanese plans for the invasion of China, nor do they realize that besides their army and navy the Japanese have in recent years greatly expanded their air force. And more than that, they forget that Japan plans to swallow up the whole of China, making no distinction between the northeast and the southwest. At present our Chinese troops wherever they may be, are all in the grip of the Japanese. Whenever the Japanese want to destroy us, they can; whatever place the Japanese want to seize, they can. So how can we talk about the southwest being the base from which to revive China?

Our Determination to Save the State

The position of our soldiers, especially of those officers who realize the real situation, is truly a bitter one. Because they realize their great responsibility for saving the country, they cannot but

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deprecate in the strongest terms the attitude of the warlords who carve out territory for themselves and live in grand style, unable apparently to come to their senses. When we are facing such a ferocious enemy, when our people are so ignorant, and when we still have within the country these unscrupulous and unprincipled warlords—fortunately few—who by their unrepentant selfishness have so far made the complete unity of the country impossible, it is difficult to estimate how much more struggle and effort will be necessary before we can reach our objective, the salvation of the country, and complete our revolutionary mission. But however adverse may be our circumstances, each one of us should realize that he has his own contribution of knowledge to bring—and knowledge is power—and still more that, as fellow-countrymen of the Republic of China and descendants of Hwang Ti, we have our own special talents of no mean order. Therefore, whatever the difficulties and dangers, however serious the predicament, and however powerful our foe, we can certainly win out. The questions we have to ask ourselves are: "Have we the determination? Have we the determination to persevere to the end? Have we that tireless spirit that will use every ounce of strength in striving to the uttermost?"

Spirit Will Overcome Matter

Since we have no national defense—for the Japanese will not allow us to have any—and our military equipment and our educational system are as they are, while our nation and society are so out of date that we cannot be called a modern state, how are we to meet foreign insult and regenerate the nation? It is true the enemy has guns, but guns are not necessarily the most effective way of meeting him. He has airplanes, but airplanes are not necessarily the best way to resist him. Naturally we cannot do without guns; we cannot do without airplanes; but we do not necessarily have to pit only guns against guns, and planes against planes. We can by our spirit overcome his material advantages; we can by increasing our knowledge resist his material strength.

We should realize that when the Revolutionary Army fights an anti-revolutionary army, victory is assured, not because of our weapons or material resources, but because of the spirit which ani-

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mates us. From ancient times to modern days all states at some time or other have suffered from foreign invasion, and in each case the invader has had a strong military force at his disposal. If the country invaded relied simply and solely on its own military resources to resist the foe, it was bound to fail. But take the case of Soviet Russia. In 1919-20, Japan was invading Siberia and American, French, and British troops were attacking and blockading Russia. At that time Russia was far from strong militarily, and was in no position to resist such enemies. She could only use the methods and strategy of the revolution to oppose the foreign invaders. Contrary to all expectations, in a few years she had won through this difficult situation, and had obtained a position of complete freedom and equality. Today she ranks with the Great Powers of the world, and stands as Japan's first strong enemy.

When, therefore, our Revolutionary Army fights with anti-revolutionary troops, or a country that is invaded resists the invading hordes, we must employ our Revolutionary Army's special strategy and its revolutionary spirit to resist the invader's ruthless force and his superior material equipment. In other words, we must rely simply on the whole nation making a superhuman effort, putting all our heart and strength into the struggle. Each person must do the work of two; five of us must do what it will take ten of the enemy to accomplish. We must use every ounce of our mental and physical powers, we must be willing to pour out our life's blood in resisting the enemy's mechanical strength and in overcoming his superior material equipment. If only we will get ready regardless of the cost—even though the cost be death—we shall certainly find ways and means, and above all a suitable opportunity to overcome our difficulties, and to complete our mission of reviving China.

The Requirements of Victory

I hope you all appreciate the significance of what I have just said. These are not empty, boastful words. All we need for success is a determination to save the nation whatever it may cost in personal sacrifice, and a fixed resolve to act in accordance with revolutionary principles. You have a revolutionary leader, and you definitely have the necessary revolutionary strategy and tactics both to resist the invader and to regenerate the nation.

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1. Confidence in the Leader and Obedience to His Commands

It is essential that all give absolute obedience to the Commander-in-Chief. Under his supreme command, defend your position when ordered to stand on the defensive, attack when ordered to attack, retreat when ordered to retreat, and advance when ordered to advance; live when he wants you to live, and die when he wants you to die. If you can act in perfect unison in obedience to orders, you can be confident that your revolutionary Commander-in-Chief will be able to devise the necessary revolutionary strategy and tactics, and so enable you to overcome all obstacles and reach the final goal. This is the most important requirement for revolutionary soldiers who wish to save their country. We do not expect that all the troops throughout the whole country will be able to do this, but we hope that the troops under the command of you officers here today will be able to understand its importance.

2. Unity of Purpose and Concentration of Strength

If the thoughts of all are united in this way, our strength can also be concentrated, so that one can equal ten, and ten a hundred. These two phrases, "unity of purpose" and "concentration of strength," embody the most important principles to be followed in our present task of protecting ourselves against insult and making our nation strong. The difference between modern and out-of-date armies, and modern and out-of-date states lies just here in their ability or inability to carry out this principle. What do I mean by "modern"? What do I mean by "out-of-date"? By "modern" I mean "civilized" and by "out-of-date" I mean "barbarous." What is the difference between civilized and barbarous troops, or a civilized and a barbarous nation? The difference is this: a civilized army or nation is united: an uncivilized army or nation is disunited, divided, cut up into fragments, each man feeling he ought to control—a mass of selfishness. This is what is meant by the old phrase "a collection of crows" (a disorderly rabble). And just because it is disunited, it cannot concentrate its strength; and for that reason one of the enemy can overcome ten of you, while ten of your divisions cannot face his. Naturally, therefore, foreign "bandits" invade your country till the nation reaches a point of extreme peril. If China is

to survive she must concentrate her strength. When that has been done, then one ounce of effort will produce ten times the result. But if we are disunited—all divided up into fragments—then ten times the effort will only produce one-tenth of the result, and the State will most certainly be destroyed. This is the difference between a civilized and an uncivilized country, and its bearing on the continued existence of the State. It is especially important that you grasp this point clearly.

3. *“Fortifications at Every Step”*

In addition to unity of purpose and concentration of strength, there is something else that is essential if we are to save the country: what the ancients called “fortifications at every step.” We need to erect fortifications everywhere, and to be prepared to resist anywhere at any time. As I have already said, we have at present no arrangements for national defense, and the Japanese will not permit us to make any. Furthermore the whole country is surrounded by the Japanese and completely under their control. Their visible and invisible troops are spread out everywhere, so that our life is in their hands every hour and moment of the day. For instance, at the moment we are at Lushan which superficially would appear to be very peaceful. No Japanese battleships can come here; nor can their troops reach us in a minute or two. But you must remember that at Kiukiang they have their consulate, and their consulates are the secret headquarters of their army, navy, and air force. In the river off Kiukiang their warships are anchored, so that within two hours their military and naval forces could be at Lushan. The planes from their aircraft-carrier in the Yellow Sea could fly from Shanghai or Nanking straight to Nanchang, Kiukiang, or Hankow. In fact, within one day any place could be subjected to their pressure.

Since I, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole Chinese Army, am fully aware of these conditions, why do I still talk of resisting Japan? You should all realize that since we cannot speak of “national defense” (that is, defense of the nation as a whole), we must give our attention to local defense. In every place where there is a battalion or a company stationed, strong fortifications should be erected. Wherever our troops go, there should be “fortifications at every step,” defense works erected everywhere. Our local defense

is our national defense. Since our life, the life of the whole army, is always and everywhere in the grip of the Japanese, we must station a battalion in each place, and in each place dig trenches. The warriors of old said that with deep trenches and high fortifications, even if you could not hold out for two or three years you could at least hold out for one or two months, and where you could not hold out for two months you could at least hold out for a couple of weeks.

4. Stubborn Resistance

Although we have no certain guarantee of victory, yet we must put up the most stubborn resistance. Though we cannot be sure of defeating the enemy, we must ensure that if he wins he will suffer the very heaviest losses; we must exact the costliest price from his hand. This we can certainly do. We must use one ounce of our strength to meet ten of his; we must use our manpower to resist his machines. This is the kind of self-sacrificing preparation we must have; this is the kind of revolutionary spirit we need. Each battalion, each regiment, each division must look to its own defenses. In this way our local defense preparations will take the place of "national defense." With our own flesh and blood we will resist the enemy's rifles and guns. Then, even if we are defeated in several battles, I am convinced that we shall finally be victorious.

If we use this type of revolutionary strategy, then it will take the Japanese at least one month to capture a province; in other words it will take them eighteen months to occupy the eighteen provinces. During these eighteen months there are sure to be changes in the international situation. In that case the Japanese will certainly be unable to seize a province a month. If, therefore, each of us is alive to the situation, always takes the necessary defensive measures wherever he is, and is ready to sacrifice himself in resistance to the foe at any time in any place, then not only need we not fear the 3,000 planes that Japan has, but another 30,000 would make no difference; we no longer need to fear Japan's navy, not even if it were increased from 1,200,000 to 3,000,000 tons; and Japan's army of 3,500,000 men will cause us no anxiety, even if it were increased to 6,000,000. With it all she could not destroy China if the revolutionary spirit animated us. We revolutionary soldiers must awake

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to the realities of the situation; we must have confidence in ourselves; we must be filled with the revolutionary spirit and a steadfast willingness to sacrifice ourselves for the nation.

But we must not wait to be killed. We have rifles and guns. Where we haven't, we must get hold of some other kind of weapon and fight to defeat the foe. We must not dogmatically assert that old weapons and old strategy are of no use today. You probably all know that in the European War not only were rifles and mortars extremely effective; even old weapons such as bows and arrows, spears and swords, such as were used in China in the old days, were employed with great effect. We Chinese, especially we Chinese soldiers, are prone to think that only the new is good; so we want to buy only new rifles and guns. But do you not realize that we have not the necessary knowledge to use them? Not only can we not manufacture these new weapons, but if others give us rifles and guns that they have invented we cannot use them till we have spent three years practicing. We must admit that our scientific knowledge, our material resources, and our military power are all insufficient to resist Japan. In all these respects we are inferior to the Japanese; compared with them we are out-of-date, we are old-fashioned. But we have something with which we can overcome our foe, something in which we are superior to him.

Resist Militarism with Character

Have I not constantly said that if we are to resist Japanese militarism, we need first to break their militaristic spirit (Bushido)? And we will best break this Japanese Bushido through our own traditional military virtues. We need to use our civilized Three Principles of the People to resist their aggressive imperialism. Then our own spirit will naturally be fresher than theirs, our principles more modern, and, therefore, our strategy more up-to-date. Our physical strength and self-confidence will also be superior to theirs. We can be stronger than they, more up-to-date than they, better than they. You all know that at present in Japan there is constant party strife, not only between the political parties, but among the militarists, too. There has been continuous retrogression in military and political affairs; and there has been steady deterioration in character. If we want our morale to equal theirs, then we must direct our efforts

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toward unification and the concentration of our strength. Endowed with a new spirit and making use of new methods we can certainly overcome them. Employing new strategy to resist their old methods, we can certainly secure the final victory. We are the Revolutionary Army; they are the anti-revolutionists. We are fighting in self-defense and for justice. The struggle is a struggle for right, and in fighting for the right we cannot but be ultimately victorious. Everyone ought to be convinced of this fact. We must therefore realize the true situation and have confidence in ourselves. We are China's soldiers, descendants of Hwang Ti, and fellow-countrymen of the Republic of China. We must unite; we must close our ranks; we must face as one man this foe upon our soil; we must complete the revolutionary mission entrusted to us.

I

China Resists Japan

(1937-1938)

The Limit of China's Endurance

An address delivered before a gathering of Chinese leaders from various walks of life at Lushan, Kiangsi, July 17, 1937, ten days after the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge) incident, which precipitated the war.

JULY 17, 1937.

GENTLEMEN:

JUST when China was exerting every effort to preserve peace with other nations and to secure internal unity, the Lukouchiao incident suddenly burst upon us. Not only was our whole nation thrown into a state of profound indignation, but world opinion also was deeply shocked. The consequences of this incident threatened not only the very existence of China, but the peace and prosperity of mankind. You, who have upon your hearts our nation's difficulties, are naturally very anxious over this incident, and therefore I want to take this opportunity to set forth simply but clearly certain significant points in relation to it.

In the first place, the Chinese have ever been a peace-loving race. The internal policy of the National Government has always been directed toward our own survival as a nation, and our foreign policy toward the corporate survival of the family of nations. In February of this year (1937), at the Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, a Manifesto was issued in which these points were even more clearly emphasized. For the last two years the National Government, in its policy toward Japan, has consistently followed these principles, in the hope that the confusion caused by Japan's arbitrary actions might be overcome, and all problems might be dealt with through recognized diplomatic channels, so that a just settlement could be reached. The facts show how earnest have been our efforts both within the country and abroad.

I feel strongly that if we are to meet this national crisis, we must first of all realize the position of our own country. We are a weak nation; therefore it is all the more necessary that we should have a true estimate of our strength. Peace is an absolute essential for the reconstruction of the nation. It is for this reason that for the past few years we have striven hard to maintain peace with other nations, in spite of all the injustice and suffering that has been our lot. In my report on foreign affairs at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang the year before last, I stated that while there was the slightest hope for peace, we would not abandon it; so long as we had not reached the limit of endurance, we would not talk lightly of sacrifice. The explanation of the meaning of the phrase, "the limit of endurance," given at the Central Executive Session in February of this year showed plainly our love of peace and our anxiety to maintain it.

Since we are a weak country, there is only one thing to do when we reach the limit of endurance: we must throw every ounce of energy into the struggle for our national existence and independence. When that is done, neither time nor circumstances will permit our stopping midway to seek peace. We should realize that the only condition on which it would be possible to secure peace after war has once begun would be complete surrender, which would mean the complete annihilation of our race. Let our people realize to the full the meaning of "the limit of endurance," and the extent of sacrifice implied. For, once that stage is reached, we can only sacrifice and fight to the bitter end. Only a determination to sacrifice ourselves to the uttermost can bring us ultimate victory. Should we hesitate, however, and vainly hope for ease and safety, we shall tumble into an abyss from which there will be no hope of escape even though we endure "a myriad ages of suffering."

Secondly, there may be people who imagine that the Lukouchiao incident was a sudden and unpremeditated event. But for the past month there have been statements coming from the other side (Japan), either directly through the press or through diplomatic channels, which to us were all omens that an incident was imminent. Furthermore, the night before the incident occurred, various reports were circulated to the effect that the Japanese were going to expand the Tangku Agreement, enlarge the bogus East Hopei Government,

drive out the 29th Army, and force the resignation of General Sung Cheh-yuan. There were countless other reports of similar demands too numerous to mention. From this, it can easily be seen that the Lukouchiao incident was not a sudden or accidental development. Rather we must realize from what has transpired in connection with this incident, that the other side has been most assiduous in its designs against us, and that peace, therefore, cannot be easily secured.

At the present moment the only way to maintain peace and to avoid trouble would be to allow the Japanese armies to come and go without let or hindrance within our country. Our own troops, on the other hand, would have to put up with all kinds of restrictions and would not be allowed to take up positions freely on their own territory. They would even have to allow the Japanese to fire upon them without being able to return the fire! There is an old saying, "He is the sacrificial knife and bowl, and I am the sacrificial meat and fish." We are about to reach its most terrible condition. No country in the world with the slightest semblance of self-respect could possibly accept such humiliation.

The four Northeastern Provinces have already been lost to us for six years. Following this loss, came the Tangku Agreement, and now the area of conflict has spread to Lukouchiao at the very gates of Peiping. If we should allow Lukouchiao to be occupied by force, the result would be that Peiping, which was our ancient capital for five hundred years, and which is the political, cultural, and strategic center of all North China, would become a second Mukden. And if Peiping becomes a second Mukden, Hopei and Chahar will share the fate of the four Northeastern Provinces. What, then, will prevent Nanking from becoming a second Peiping? The developments at Lukouchiao therefore raise problems involving the existence of the nation as a whole. Whether they can be amicably settled or not will determine whether we have reached "the limit of endurance."

Thirdly, if it should turn out that we have reached the limit, and a conflict is unavoidable, then we cannot do otherwise than resist and be prepared for the supreme sacrifice. But our attitude will be simply one of resistance: we have not sought war; it will have been forced upon us. We will resist because there is no other

possible way of meeting the situation, when the limit of endurance is reached. All our people must have confidence in the National Government, and realize that it is in the process of making comprehensive preparations for the defense of the country. We are a weak nation, and our policy is to maintain peace; it is impossible for us to seek war. We are weak, yet we must fight for the life of our race, and shoulder the historic responsibilities handed down to us by our fathers and all the generations before us. When there is no alternative, we shall have to resist. Let us realize, however, that once the war has begun, there will be no opportunity for a weak nation to seek a compromise. If we allow one inch more of our territory to be lost, or our sovereignty to be again infringed, we shall be guilty of committing an unpardonable offense against our race. There will then be no way left but to throw all the resources of our nation into a grim struggle for ultimate victory.

Fourthly, whether the Lukouchiao incident will grow into a war between China and Japan depends entirely on the attitude of the Japanese Government. Whether or not there is any hope for peace between China and Japan depends entirely upon the actions of the Japanese Army. We shall continue to hope for a peaceful solution through diplomatic means, until the very last moment before hope of peace is finally abandoned.

We take our stand on these four clear principles:

1. Any settlement reached must not infringe upon China's territorial integrity and sovereign rights.
2. The status of the Hopei and Chahar Political Council must not be subjected to any illegal alteration.
3. Local officials appointed by the Central Government, such as General Sung Cheh-yuan, the Chairman of the Hopei and Chahar Political Council, may not be removed or changed as a result of outside pressure.
4. There shall be no restrictions vis-à-vis the position now held by the 29th Army.

These principles constitute the minimum basis for diplomatic negotiations in view of the weakness of our nation. If Japan would only place herself in our position, and take a wide view of the interests of the peoples in the East; if she does not wish to

force our two countries into hostilities, and does not want to make them enemies forever, then she ought not to dismiss lightly these conditions which are the minimum that can be considered. To sum up: the National Government in relation to the Lukouchiao incident has followed a consistent policy and adopted a consistent attitude. We must maintain this position and policy with all our strength.

We hope for peace, but we do not seek an easy path to peace; we prepare for war, but we do not want war. When we reach the point where the whole nation must take up arms, then we know we shall have to sacrifice to the very end without the slightest hope of avoiding suffering by some sudden turn of fortune. Once the battle is joined there can be no distinction between north and south, nor between old and young. Everyone everywhere will have to shoulder the responsibility for protecting the country and for resisting the foe. Everyone will have to give everything that he has. Knowing this, the Government is exercising great caution as it approaches the grave crisis. Let the whole nation with calmness and discipline prepare for self-defense. At this moment when the issue of peace and war hangs in the balance, only our united efforts to maintain strict discipline and order can save the nation. When you return to your home districts I trust that you will pass this message on to all the people, so that they may understand clearly the present situation and be absolutely loyal to the State. I am counting earnestly upon you.

On National Reconstruction

*An address to the first graduating class of the
Summer Training Corps at Lushan, Kiangsi, July
18, 1937.*

JULY 18, 1937.

AT THE graduation exercises today I wish to give you a systematic, comprehensive exposition of the National Reconstruction Movement. I do this in order that you may better understand the meaning and purpose of this Movement, the driving forces behind it, and the steps we must take and methods we must use in order that it may accomplish its task. Only as we see clearly what National Reconstruction really is can we determine the direction it should take. Only as we appreciate the motivating spirit of National Reconstruction and the distinctive character which the Movement should everywhere manifest can we extend quickly the work of reconstruction and achieve large and successful results.

We want to build a new China upon the foundation of the Three Principles of the People; that is the central aim of National Reconstruction. The Three Principles given us by Dr. Sun Yat-sen are the highest principles of social revolution and national salvation. They will bring China to a position of political and economic equality in the community of nations and will assure China a permanent place in the world. If we want to build a new nation we must carry out the principles of national independence, democracy, and economic welfare for all the people.

I. *The Aims of National Reconstruction*

1. Racial and national independence. We must focus the total strength of our people upon the task of elevating our position as a race and nation. We must get rid of all aggression and oppression and build a truly independent China.

2. Democracy and equality. If we are to give the people of China complete self-government we must first solve the problem of livelihood for all, and give real freedom to the races within China. If the foundations of democracy are secure, then true equality can be achieved.

3. Economic freedom and prosperity. This means that the living needs of all the people must be equally and fully supplied without any unwarranted restrictions or deprivations.

In order to reach these three goals we must revive the spirit of self-confidence, the power of self-government, and the creative abilities which have in the past characterized our race.

A. Self-confidence. We must teach our people the greatness of China's historical culture. In our educational program we must stress Chinese history and geography so that all may know and appreciate China's civilization of five thousand years and the far-flung boundaries of our ancient race. This will engender a greater faith in our own future. We must elevate the national consciousness of our people so that they will put the nation above self. We must develop a firm confidence in our own national strength; we must not blindly worship foreign culture and disregard our own. Let us believe that our revolution will succeed and that our national spirit can be revived.

B. Self-government. In ancient China self-government was highly developed both in community life and in personal life. The custom of mutual protection and assistance was widespread. The organization and regulations of local self-government were clearly defined and strictly applied. Individual self-control was even more strongly emphasized. Now we must revive this old power of self-government in order to realize the equalities of modern democracy. Let us raise the intellectual and economic level of the people, develop their political powers, and in practical ways train them for administration of their own affairs and for exercising the four rights of initiative, referendum, suffrage, and recall. Then the "sovereignty of the people" will have a sure foundation.

C. Creative abilities. The civilization and inventions of ancient China were superior to those of other countries. Our poverty and weakness today are due to the loss of our old creative power. If we are to accomplish the material reconstruction of our country and

solve the living problems of our people, we must revive the ancient wisdom and abilities of our race and at the same time absorb all we can of modern scientific knowledge and skill.

II. *Reconstruction Starts with Economic Improvement*

This is what Dr. Sun Yat-sen declared emphatically in his *Outline of National Reconstruction*. And in his lectures on the Principle of the People's Livelihood Dr. Sun clearly showed that livelihood or economic welfare is the central problem of history; in fact, the people's livelihood may be considered the central theme of the whole Three Principles. The Principle of Nationalism aims at the establishment of national and racial independence, and thus removes the obstacles to economic welfare; the Principle of Democracy aims at establishment of popular sovereignty, and thus enables the people to solve their own economic problems. According to the definition of Dr. Sun, the third Principle includes four things: the daily life of the people; the existence and welfare of society; the economic policy of the state; and the perpetuation of our race. The people's livelihood is therefore of central importance in the reconstruction of the nation.

Theoretically the Principle of Livelihood seems to cover a very broad and general field. Actually its main problems are those related to the daily necessities of the people—food, clothing, shelter, and communications. All of the economic activities of humanity may be called efforts to supply these basic necessities.

The Principle of Livelihood aims at widespread and equitable supply of such necessities to our people. However, we know that living standards are limited by material conditions. Therefore, in order to provide more adequately for our people we must increase production, and in order to equalize economic advantages we must solve the problem of distribution. We must make production our prime objective, and at the same time we must work for equitable distribution. I wish to propose the following national economic policy based upon Dr. Sun's *Outline of National Reconstruction* and the concrete, immediate needs of the nation at this time:

1. Equalization of land ownership. We must survey all the land, determine clearly property boundaries, promulgate land laws,

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and tax the land according to its assessed value. Land is the most important economic problem of our people. A satisfactory solution to this problem will mean the elimination of such evils as land monopoly, usurpation and expropriation of property, and inequalities in land distribution. It will also lead to the goal of "every peasant tilling his own land."

2. Prevention of capitalistic monopolies, and imposition of graded taxes. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's proposal of "regulated capital" favors private business, but at the same time restricts private capital because of its tendency to create monopolies over living necessities. For preventing the over-expansion of private capital no plan will be more effective than a graded system of taxation, including inheritance taxes, income taxes, and taxes on all other sources of capital income. Daily necessities should not be taxed; they should be subject, however, to limitation in quantity.

3. Co-operation between labor and capital, and regulation of wages. In a country like ours with backward methods of production, we should never permit disputes between labor and capital to obstruct our productive program. We want close co-operation between capital and labor in order to intensify production and in order to promote the highest welfare of the nation and people. When conflicts occur they should be submitted to compulsory arbitration, so that production will not be adversely affected.

4. Development of State capital, and protection of private business. In order to improve living conditions of the poor and weak classes we must greatly increase production. For independent enterprises and those which private capital cannot handle, and for large-scale projects related to our national economic program we shall need to develop State capital. At the same time we must protect private business, so that all property will contribute to production.

5. Co-operation between government and people in solving problems of production and distribution. Co-operation is an urgent necessity in dealing with food, clothing, shelter, communications, and other economic needs and problems.

III. *Three Essential Factors in Reconstruction*

There are three essential factors in all human activity: spirit,

materials, and action. Our tremendous and difficult task of national reconstruction depends for its success on all these factors. We must raise the spirit or morale of our people; we must increase the use of our material resources; and we must extend the range and effectiveness of our action. The three factors are closely interrelated, and each must be given consideration if we are to achieve large results and complete the work of national reconstruction. The philosophy of our reconstruction movement leans neither toward the spiritual nor the material, but recognizes the equal necessity and importance of both. Moreover, spiritual and material forces must be related to definite action; otherwise they are ineffective. I believe in a philosophy of action, action which is easy when the fundamental material and spiritual conditions, the conditions of knowledge and wisdom, have been met.

1. Spiritual factors. We must advance the New Life Movement, the chief aims of which are to change the moral atmosphere, to build civic character, to eliminate bad social customs, and to develop a vital and healthy social organism. The principles of *Li I Lien Ch'ih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, Conscientiousness) must be applied to our daily life. In all our doings we should maintain high standards of orderliness, cleanliness, simplicity, speed, and thoroughness. The New Life Movement is really a kind of spiritual revolution. We had lost our national spirit for a long time and we still lack almost all the essential qualities for building a new nation. So let us push the New Life Movement, revive the ancient virtues of our race, reform our social customs, and stir up the people; then we can develop the powerful morale needed for successful reconstruction.

2. Material factors. We must promote economic reconstruction on a national scale. We are in sore need of materials for large-scale national reconstruction; this lack of material resources causes poverty and weakness among our people and makes it difficult for us to revive our nation. The goal of national economic reconstruction is the full and best use of our manpower and of our material resources and products; in other words, "Use human resources to the limit, open up the earth's treasures, supply the needs of all, let goods flow freely, and enrich the material life of all the people." China is not lacking in resources of the soil nor in material products,

but the resources are not well developed and the products are not well used. We must awaken all the people to united effort and actively promote economic reconstruction, if we are to solve our problem of material scarcity.

3. Action—push the Labor Service Movement. Without some form of wide-range, positive action we cannot link together our spiritual revival and our plan for increase of materials and goods, nor can we hope to tear up the intertwined and deeply rooted evils in our society and bring about the rapid reconstruction of our national life. We must urge action upon our fellow-citizens and get them all to undertake some definite labor for the State. Let all set a high value upon services. Let all do their part in the Labor Service Movement. We expect schools, public institutions and army units, general social organizations and homes to help continuously in promotion and supervision, until labor service for the State becomes a nation-wide movement.

IV. *How to Begin Reconstruction*

Next I wish to discuss with you how we may launch our program of National Reconstruction. Reconstruction is so vast a subject that unless we grasp its essential points and proceed from these we are in danger of wasting our energy. Two good starting points are: the small geographical units within the State political organization in which we can further the cause of self-government, and the various social organizations within the State in which educational and training methods can be employed to develop the strength and morale of the people.

1. According to *The Outline of National Reconstruction*, the Government during the period of political tutelage should help the people prepare for self-government by taking part in local affairs and by laying the foundations of democracy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his *Outline of National Reconstruction and Methods of Initiating Local Self-Government* gave detailed instructions regarding local government enterprises and activities. I shall revise his list somewhat to meet the concrete needs and situations of today. The Government should make provision in local districts for the following:

a census of families; land survey and registration; police protection (including the *pao-chia* or mutual guarantee system); development of communications; extension of educational facilities; reclamation of waste land and reforestation; water conservancy (including improvement of waterways and irrigation, repair of dykes, digging of irrigation ditches and wells, dredging of rivers, etc.); promotion of co-operative enterprises (through various kinds of co-operative societies—producers', consumers', credit, transportation, etc.).

2. For the success of National Reconstruction it is essential that we have a strong and active citizenry able to make a definite contribution to reconstruction projects. Therefore we must use methods of education and training to increase the strength of the people. This involves a four-fold program of *Kuan Chiao Yang Wei* (Management, Education, Maintenance, Defense). These have been largely matters of government administration, but if we are to have active, well-developed citizens we must consider them also matters involving education and training.

Kuan. In the past, China has neglected the important science of management. In our dealings with men, with business matters, with the earth and with things, we need to know the principles of efficient control. With men and affairs, for example, we have what we call direction, supervision, delegation of responsibilities, transfer of office, examination, and such. In relation to the earth and material objects and forces strict control is also necessary in order to prevent careless use and depreciation in value, the waste of the earth's products, and the loss of important materials. In Western countries scientific management has become a special field of study. Without such training the Chinese people do not realize the importance of careful management and control. As a result we do not know how to be strict and exact; we do not know how to make reasonable distribution and use of our resources. Consequently there is much waste and extravagance. It is impossible to estimate the amount of land and goods that is foolishly wasted each year through lack of good management. If we want our people to become strong we must teach them management and control, not only instructing them in the principles, but also training them through concrete projects.

Chiao. A good program of education is essential to our pro-

gram of national salvation and reconstruction, and to the cultivation of the people's strength. In all grades of education we must put more emphasis upon practical knowledge. In the past our education has been too much in the clouds; it has not kept its feet on the ground. We forget that the most practical and useful knowledge has to do with simple, everyday things. Some of us who have received a higher education are lacking in certain elementary knowledge and skills and are ignorant of ordinary facts. No wonder that it is difficult to secure a large number of experts in various fields. If we want to cultivate the strength of the people we must give them a good foundation of common knowledge. Then they will be able to shoulder the definite responsibilities of citizens.

Yang. Maintenance aims at economic improvement and better living conditions for the people. It naturally requires training in methods of production. From the standpoint of the State this means the development of public property and business; from the standpoint of the individual, the increase of productive power. Reconstruction in a country as poor as ours cannot succeed without greatly increased production on the part of all our citizens. Therefore we must everywhere and under all conditions educate the people in improved methods of production and in the habit of hard work. We must help them get rid of their lazy and dependent ways and to become strong and self-reliant. Our nation should become self-sufficient at least in agricultural and industrial production.

Wei. If we are to become a free and independent nation we must cultivate the power of self-defense among our people. On a small scale this means protection of communities and neighborhoods; on a large scale, defense of the nation. In our training program we must lay major emphasis upon national defense. To this end we should elevate the national consciousness, foster a willingness to struggle and sacrifice, and inculcate habits of discipline and order.

If we carry out as a people all that I have been saying, then we shall certainly achieve our four-fold objective: "Abilities of men, products of the earth, goods on the market, and business activity, all utilized to the limit." National Reconstruction will then have completed its first stage.

V. *The Driving Force in National Reconstruction*

Any great enterprise must have a powerful inner driving force. This is true of National Reconstruction. Our task is so tremendous, aims and methods are so varied and complex, the position of our nation is so difficult, and the former foundations were so weak that we cannot hope to carry out rapidly our mission of reconstruction by ordinary effort alone. We need a powerful driving force, and it is this I wish to speak about in closing. This driving force will be our contribution to the spiritual training of our people, and to the cultivation of strong national morale without which we cannot hope to unite or to fulfill our duty at this time.

The driving force we need is none other than the ancient moral principles of our race: *Chung Hsiao Jen Ai Hsin I Ho P'ing* (Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Kindness, Love, Faithfulness, Justice, Harmony, and Peace). Central among these are Kindness and Love. These virtues have been China's ethical heritage for millenniums; they have become a part of the very thought and life of many of our people. We may say that they are characteristics of the sons of Hwang Ti. All we need to do now is to revive these age-long principles and to restore them to their former influence and power; then we shall have a mighty driving force for our National Reconstruction Movement.

A touchstone of our actions, as we follow these old moral principles, is *Ch'eng* (Sincerity). *Ch'eng* means a sincere and determined purpose, absolute loyalty to our cause, so that we do not falter or turn back, but give all our energy to the task before us. It means that we must not cease to make ourselves strong and capable; what we do not know we must faithfully learn; what we have learned we must faithfully do. Our ancient sages said, "Gold and hard rock will break open for the man of sincere devotion."

Another important standard of action is *Yen* (Strictness or Severity). We must be strict in self-discipline, strict in managing affairs, avoiding all falseness and deceit, setting our wills against all laxness, and seeking perfection in all our work. *Yen* is also manifested in the inward qualities of *Chih Jen Hsin Yung* (Knowledge, Generosity, Trustworthiness, and Courage), and in

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our outward behavior according to the principles of *Li I Lien Chih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, Conscientiousness). With such a character we shall be fearless and strong, we shall not bow to any outward pressure, and we shall always maintain dignity and self-respect. The man with stern self-discipline will be real and thorough in all he does; he will bury himself in his tasks and show definite results. He will not be afraid of difficulties; he will stand upon his own feet; he will be open and above board in his actions. In all his work for his country he will be loyal and public-spirited, without a trace of selfish greed. He will put society above self, and work for the welfare of all. He will obey faithfully the laws made for the common good. On the one hand, he will make himself strong and worthy; on the other hand, he will co-operate unselfishly with others in service to the State. "Nothing is impossible to the man of fixed purpose." With such men in our nation—patriotic, unselfish, loyal, stern—we can sweep away all obstacles before us, establish a free and democratic State for the welfare of all, and accomplish the task of National Reconstruction.

4

Drive Out the Invader

A message to the armed forces of the nation at the end of July, 1937, after the Japanese capture of Peiping and Tientsin.

JULY, 1937.

FOLLOWING recent developments at Lukouchiao, the Japanese have by low and treacherous methods seized our cities, Peiping and Tientsin, and have killed many of our fellow-countrymen. There is no end to the humiliation and insults that they have heaped upon us. To think about it makes the heart sick. Since the Mukden incident on September 18, 1931, the more indignities we have borne, the more we have yielded, the more violent has Japanese oppression become. Give them an inch and they take a foot. Now we have reached the point when we can endure it no longer; we will give way no more. The whole nation must rise as one man and fight these Japanese bandits until we have destroyed them, and our own life is secure.

We soldiers in normal times are fed and supplied by the blood and sweat of our fellow-countrymen. How eager we should now be to show ourselves brave and faithful and to fulfill our duty of protecting the people. As Commander-in-Chief I must carry the entire responsibility for the lives of my soldiers and the safety of the State. Naturally I must put forth my maximum effort and keep a firm grip on the fundamental conditions of victory. You, too, must do your part. Victory is assured, if only all our troops will obey orders wholeheartedly. We shall certainly defeat these Japanese robbers, and wipe out our humiliation. Now that we have hurled defiance at Japan and are going to fight to the death, I must bring to your close attention the following very important points:

1. *We must resolve to sacrifice to the limit.*

You must realize that the Japanese have been able to rob us of our territory by clever opportunism. You must also realize that

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unless they receive some heavy blows, they certainly will not stop their policy of aggression. Since the whole nation now is unitedly resisting the invaders, they will be sure (for the sake of face) to put out their maximum effort into the fight. Now that the war has started, it is sure to last long; if it does not end in the destruction of the Japanese, it will end in ours. We must therefore mobilize all our resources for this life-and-death struggle. We must all be of one mind and fight to the death. Victory or defeat depends on the spirit shown. If I do not fear an enemy he is sure to fear me. Those who are afraid are sure to be defeated, while those who are not afraid are sure to win. Although our military equipment is not equal to that of the enemy, yet if we retain the revolutionary spirit that is ready for any sacrifice and keeps loyal and brave to the end, and in that spirit go forward against the foe, there will be no question of Japan's defeat. The Japanese are only good at opportunist moves; they are unwilling to face any real sacrifice.

2. We must firmly believe that final victory is ours.

Since the Japanese invaders reached the interior of our country, where they are unfamiliar with the terrain and are confronted on all sides by our fellow-countrymen, hostile to them, they find they can hardly advance. Consequently they are all imbued with a spirit of fear—fear of death—and an unwillingness to sacrifice themselves. Their progress now is very slow; they are afraid to advance quickly. They can only use their planes and big guns to bombard us heavily, hoping to terrify us and make us retreat, and thus avoid the necessity of a real battle. If we will resolve to fight to the last and stubbornly resist all aggression, fearing neither suffering, nor hardship, nor even death itself; if we husband our ammunition, take careful aim, defend all positions to the last, and wear down the invader's strength, then without question the victory will be ours. If there is no panic or confusion as the battle draws near, if, when we have suffered some losses or have met with temporary reverses, we make good use of the weak points of the Japanese—their unwillingness to sacrifice themselves, their fear of advancing too quickly—if we calmly reinforce our position and carry on the struggle, then we shall most certainly win in the end.

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3. *We must make full use of our mental powers and take the initiative.*

In the history of war, general strategy and tactics have naturally been the responsibility of the highest authority, the Commander-in-Chief and his Staff. But the officers of each unit must on their own initiative study the situation before them and implement the orders of headquarters, for example, in matters that concern local topography, the details of the enemy's condition and of our own, the organization of guerrillas, and the use of spies. Ways and means of meeting emergencies caused by the loss of contact in the thick of the fight, or by the breakdown of communications when orders can no longer get through, must be devised by the officers of each unit, using their own mental powers to secure the victory. All officers from army, division, and brigade commanders down to subalterns must learn to take the initiative.

4. *Soldier and civilians must be united in a common bond of love and sincerity.*

In any war victory is assured if the support of the people is obtained. This particular War of Resistance should arouse the people everywhere throughout our land to exert all their strength and to risk their very lives against the enemy. But if we expect the ordinary people and the soldiers wholeheartedly to unite their efforts, if we expect them to work in perfect harmony and to help each other, then you soldiers must first show your genuine love for the people and win their trust and confidence. As for ways of showing your love and sincerity, they are many. When it is necessary to conscript labor, always demonstrate your sympathy with those you have to conscript, and do not overwork them so that they murmur and complain. When you meet women, old folks, or children who have met with misfortune, help them to the limit of your powers; treat them as though they were members of your own family. When you talk with civilians in war areas or near the front, make clear to them that the nation has reached a crisis in its history, a time of extreme danger; and that since they are part of the Chinese nation, it is their duty to rise as one body, destroy the enemy, and save their country. In any case you must, wherever you are, help the civilian population,

instruct them and guide them, protect them and save them, and so give evidence of your love and sincerity. If you sympathize with them in their sufferings, and share in their joys and sorrows, then soldiers and civilians will form a closely knit body, and the civilians will naturally be glad to help. There will be no cause for traitors to spring up, and the enemy will meet with defeat everywhere.

5. *We must stubbornly hold our ground: there must be no retreat, only advance.*

It is the essence of our revolutionary spirit that we know only advance, not retreat. The success of our revolution in the past has been due to this two-fold principle: advance, but never retreat. The principle is even more necessary in this war against the Japanese invader. If we can carry it out, then the brave need not be anxious, and those who fear to die and want to retreat will not dare to do so. The Japanese, relying on their superior armament, will bombard us heavily in the hope of forcing us to retreat so that they can advance. But if our soldiers stand firm as a rock, and stubbornly hold their positions in the spirit of "advance but never retreat"; if they wait until the enemy gets near, then break through his lines and engage him in hand-to-hand fighting, airplanes and heavy guns will be of no use to the enemy, and the long experience of our troops will bring us final victory. If any soldiers, before being ordered to do so by the Commander-in-Chief, retire of their own accord, they will be punished individually and collectively, because they undermine morale and do grave injury to the State; they should be treated exactly like traitors, for they have "led the wolf into the fold, and guided the tiger to his prey." If an officer or soldier meets anyone who has retreated without the Generalissimo's orders, he should not spare him, but put him to death as a traitor. We each of us must die one day, but our death should be a worthy one, a glorious one. Rather than be put to death under military law for retreating without orders, leaving an infamous name for all time, would it not be far better to make the supreme sacrifice at the front and leave a fragrant memory down the centuries? The National Government at the present moment is considering an order setting forth rewards for those who hold stubbornly to important positions. Anyone who resolutely defends an important position and refuses to retreat, will

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be promoted three ranks; his father and grandfather will be honored as well as himself, and similarly his children and grandchildren. So you must hold your positions, firmly refusing to retreat, bringing glory to the nation and winning an honorable name for yourselves. But anyone who of his own accord and without orders retires from his post will be treated as a traitor and shot without mercy.

These are the five most important conditions for driving out the Japanese invader and for resurrecting our nation. I shall have other important pronouncements to make in due course. Meanwhile, remember that since September 18, 1931, when we lost the four Northeastern Provinces, we have been through much bitter suffering and have lost a great deal of territory. How can we for one moment forget this deep humiliation? Why have we patiently endured Japan's insults during all these years, not returning curses for curses or blows for blows? Because we wanted to settle our internal problems in order to have strength to resist to the end. If we are to resist to the end, the whole country must be united, ready for any sacrifice, willing to fight the Japanese to the death.

We are all descendants of Hwang Ti who have sworn allegiance to the Revolution. Should we not fight to the last and so pay our country what we owe her? Only thus can we be worthy of our great leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and of the heroes who have laid down their lives before us. Only thus can we preserve the spacious land and glorious heritage passed down to us by our ancestors. Only thus can we requite our parents and teachers for the faithful instruction and the training that they have given us. Only thus can we be true to the generations that follow us.

Soldiers! The supreme moment has come. With one heart and purpose advance. Refuse to retreat. Drive out the unspeakably evil invaders and bring about the rebirth of our nation.

5 National Solidarity

A statement made on September 24, 1937, in connection with the Manifesto on the United Front issued by the Chinese Communist Party.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1937.

THE aim of the Nationalist Revolution is to seek freedom and equality for China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People) are fundamental principles of national salvation. He earnestly hoped that all our people would strive with one heart to save the State from its perils. Unfortunately during the past ten years not all of our countrymen have had a sincere and unwavering faith in the Three Principles of the People, nor have they fully realized the magnitude of the crisis confronting our country. The course of the Revolution in its efforts at national reconstruction has been blocked by many obstacles. The result has been waste in our national resources, widespread suffering among the people, increasing humiliations from outside, and growing dangers to the State.

During the past few years the National Government has been calling ceaselessly upon the nation to achieve genuine internal solidarity, and to face unitedly the national crisis. Those who have in the past doubted the Three Principles of the People have now realized the paramount importance of our national interests, and have buried their differences for the sake of internal unity. The Chinese people today fully realize that they must survive together or perish together, and that the interests of the nation must take precedence over the interests of individuals or groups.

The Manifesto recently issued by the Chinese Communist Party is an outstanding instance of the triumph of national sentiment over every other consideration. The various decisions embodied in the Manifesto, such as the abandonment of a policy of violence,

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the cessation of Communist propaganda, the abolition of the Chinese Soviet Government, and the disbandment of the Red Army, are all essential conditions for mobilizing our national strength in order that we may meet the menace from without and guarantee our own national existence.

These decisions agree with the spirit of the Manifesto and resolutions adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang (The Nationalist Party). The Communist Manifesto declares that the Chinese Communists are willing to strive to carry out the Three Principles. This is ample proof that China today has only one objective in its war efforts.

In our revolution we are struggling not for personal ambitions or opinions, but for the realization of the Three Principles of the People. Especially during this period of national crisis, when the fate of China lies in the balance, we ought not to argue over the past, but should try as a nation to make a new start. We should earnestly strive to unite, so that as a united nation we may safeguard the continued existence of the Republic.

If a citizen believes in the Three Principles and works actively for the salvation of the State, the Government should not concern itself with his past, but should give him opportunity to prove his loyalty in service to the Republic. Likewise, the Government will gladly accept the services of any political organization provided it is sincerely working for the nation's salvation, and is willing under the banner of our National Revolution to join with us in our struggle against aggression.

The Chinese Communist Party, by surrendering its prejudices, has clearly recognized the vital importance of our national independence and welfare. I sincerely hope that all members of the Communist Party will faithfully and unitedly put into practice the various decisions reached, and under the unified military command that is directing our resistance, will offer their services to the State, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the nation for the successful completion of the National Revolution.

In conclusion, I may say that the foundation of the Chinese

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State rests firmly on the Three Principles first expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This foundation is one that cannot be shaken or changed. Now that the entire nation is awakened and solidly united, it will boldly follow the unwavering policy of the Government, and will mobilize its entire resources to resist the tyrannical Japanese and save the State from its imminent peril.

Enlightened people the world over now realize that China is fighting not merely for her own survival, but also for world peace and for international faith and justice.

6

Fight to Win

*A broadcast from Nanking on October 9, 1937,
on the eve of the "Double Tenth" National Holiday
which marked the twenty-sixth anniversary of the
birth of the Chinese Republic.*

OCTOBER 9, 1937.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN THROUGHOUT CHINA:

THIS year our national anniversary falls at a time of grave peril and great difficulty for our nation, but a time, also, of supreme importance in the resurgent life of our people. We are at the moment suffering from the invasion of a cruel foe; an invasion carried out with unparalleled ferocity. The nation today is engaged in a bitter struggle. All our people are endeavoring by sacrifice of flesh and blood—yea, of their very lives—to secure the survival of the State. In this War of Resistance, the warm patriotism of our fellow-Chinese overseas, and the courage and enthusiasm of all our citizens is more than enough to inspire and encourage us, and to convince us that out of this period of trial and suffering, we shall be able to achieve the revival of our nation.

As we approach this glorious anniversary, I have a few important things to say to you, my fellow-countrymen.

First of all, we must realize that we are fighting this war of self-defense in order to save ourselves from annihilation—to snatch life out of death. Moreover, we shall have to pass through extraordinary perils and difficulties before we can win the final victory. We must thoroughly wake up, my fellow-countrymen, and continue our initial efforts in a spirit of still greater courage and sacrifice. This war will not be finished in six months or a year, nor any similarly short time. We must face the fact that our hardships will increase every day. We must fully prepare to meet difficulties ten

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times more severe than those we are undergoing today. Only the determination to sacrifice to the very limit will enable us to reach our goal and to secure the survival of our race.

Our brave troops at the front, by their self-denying efforts, have dealt the enemy very heavy blows, and have revealed his weak points one by one. They have won the unbounded sympathy of the world. Recently the nations have come to a fresh realization of the vital importance of maintaining international justice and righteousness, and of honoring treaties and international law. Gradually they have begun to make more grave and decided pronouncements on the issues involved, so that justice is again raising its head. This is definitely the result of the spirit shown by our soldiers at the front—their heroism and their determination to check the enemy. But there has been another important reason: the unity and solidarity of our nation. During the past twenty years the world has been watching the spectacle of a nation divided against itself, with its strength sadly dissipated. But today our nation is united. Never before has it shown such a spirit of unity and co-operation; never before has it been able to resist a foe with such wholehearted determination. Today we are one in purpose and spirit. This solidarity is adding greatly to the power and results of the sacrificial efforts of our troops. More than this, our new unity has resulted in unbounded sympathy and support from the nations of the world.

We must remember that real victory will be won only by a long persevering struggle, not by any lucky accident. International sympathy, though greatly encouraging to us, should not be allowed to foster a spirit of reliance upon others. We must first help ourselves; only then will others help us.

Let our people cultivate a willingness to face unprecedented suffering, to begrudge no sacrifice, to fight undaunted and unyielding to the end. Let us overcome all perils, and endure suffering and hardship. Let us through this war train and discipline ourselves, transform our race, and create new life for our nation.

Secondly, we must not only maintain our unity to the end, but continually strengthen our solidarity. We have already proved the enormous strength that comes from national unity. Now we must

go on to the point where, retreating or advancing, living or dying, we are absolutely one. We must be united in danger as well as in peace, in calamity as well as in prosperity. Seeking only the highest interests of the nation we must maintain absolute discipline and cultivate strict obedience, so that we may win the final victory. Only thus can we prove ourselves worthy of the soldiers who have laid down their lives; only thus can we repay the sympathy of the friendly Powers.

Thirdly, we must have a firm faith in final victory. This war is not simply for the survival of our race, it is a struggle for justice among men, and for international faith and righteousness. The Japanese started this war to satisfy their lust for aggression. They have not only destroyed international faith and justice, but have become the enemy of all mankind. Such an inhuman and unjust war of aggression, such an unwarranted attack upon another country cannot but end in defeat and ruin. There is an old saying: "In war a righteous cause is strength, but an unjust cause is weakness"; and again: "Many come to the aid of the man who has right on his side, but none helps the man who flouts all moral principles." This war has already shown that the Japanese, in spirit and in reality, are defeated, and that their end is at hand. If we but sacrifice to the end, our cause will certainly triumph.

I have said before that the first task of our National Revolution was the achievement of internal unity; and that the second was the realization of national independence. These two tasks are in essence one. At the present moment our revolution is in the second stage. It is now meeting a very severe test, yet complete success is not far off. Nothing can now stop our united nation as it marches forward under the standard of the Three Principles.

As for me, entrusted with a great task by the Central Government, and sustained by the expectations of the whole nation, I must seek to carry out the will of my fellow-countrymen. I must lead the army forward, every soldier determined to be faithful and courageous and to fight to the end. I have responsibilities that cannot be evaded in relation to the State, the nation, the troops under me, and the political testament of our great Leader. I long ago made up my mind to spend and be spent even unto death to repay all that

I owe to the Party, the nation, and my fellow-countrymen. I hope that you will all, men and women, old and young, offer to the State your strength and your resources, and under the guidance of the National Government will fulfill your responsibilities as one man, pressing on with the great task before us. We must first concentrate all our powers of resistance before we can drive out the invading hordes, and make it possible for our nation to stand on an equality with the other nations of the world.

Fellow-countrymen! We have behind us five thousand years of history and culture; we have the resources of 4,000,000 square miles of territory; we have a population of 450,000,000—the greatest in the world. We may be sure that so great a nation cannot be destroyed, if only we are animated by a spirit of self-sacrifice and are willing to fight on. You all recall the last admonition of our great Leader: "Peace—Struggle—Save China." We must not only save ourselves; we must save the world. This is the spirit of Christ—his spirit of self-sacrifice, of love, and of peace. This is a truth that can never be destroyed. We must realize that our struggle today has as its basis our determination to establish permanent peace. This is the only road that will bring salvation to the State, the nation, mankind, and ourselves. In all history there is no case of the survival of any nation that was unwilling to make sacrifices, and there is no instance of peace being won without a struggle; if there is, it is only in the case of those willing to be enslaved, bound hand and foot under the control of others. Only in such a condition of slavery can the stupid dream of peace without struggle be realized.

The nearer our War of Resistance draws to its close, the greater will be the sacrifices demanded of us, and the heavier will be our responsibilities. But a glorious future awaits us at the end of this dark road, if only we will exert our full energy and press ever forward. Our people, whether at the front or in the rear, must lay aside all thoughts of careless ease, and all ideas of avoiding trouble. We must persevere continuously, our enthusiasm growing as the conflict lengthens. All in official position must be willing to give without stint, and to be examples of fortitude and perseverance to all the people. The outcome of this fight will determine the destiny of our nation for generations to come. We must, therefore, sacrifice every-

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thing in order that we may secure permanent peace and prosperity for our people and our nation.

Fellow-countrymen! On this all important national anniversary may every Chinese citizen make it his or her firm resolve to imitate the revolutionary heroes of the past decades, and to follow in the footsteps of the soldiers at the front who have laid down their lives. If we rise as one man and struggle valiantly for the sake of our nation, then victory is assured and a bright and glorious future will dawn for the Republic of China. Finally, let all on this day humbly pay respect to the memory of the soldiers and civilians who have paid the supreme sacrifice, and remember with deep affection the loved ones they have left behind.

After the Fall of Nanking

*A message to the nation from Field Headquarters
on December 16, 1937, after the fall of Nanking.*

DECEMBER 16, 1937.

SINCE the beginning of this war, our total casualties in dead and wounded at the front have been more than three hundred thousand. The loss of civilian lives and property is beyond computation. Such heavy sacrifice is unprecedented in China's history of opposition to foreign aggressors. As Commander-in-Chief I have been forced to bring these losses upon our nation and people. I accept the responsibility, but it is a responsibility that could not be evaded. My mental anguish has been a thousand-fold more acute than the suffering of the soldiers and civilians who have died; it will last as long as I live. Only by dedication of my whole self, body and soul, and by unwavering determination to resist to the bitter end in order to secure ultimate victory for the nation, can I repay what I owe to the Party and to the State, and bring consolation to my fellow-countrymen.

Japan's aggression in China has followed two lines of strategy: one we call "swallowing like a whale" (that is, seizing great areas of territory, as it were, in one gulp), and the other "nibbling like a silk-worm" (that is, slowly but steadily encroaching on our country and our rights). By violent means Japan has now occupied Nanking. From now on she will with increasing ferocity carry out her design of subduing the whole of China. Facts prove that she is now like a whale swallowing great areas in one gulp, and not simply nibbling at Chinese territory. But what China has to fear is the nibbling process, not the "swallowing in one gulp." The danger of being "swallowed in one gulp" is easily seen, whereas the process of being "nibbled away" is gradual and difficult to detect. Should Japan pursue the policy of slowly "nibbling like a silk-worm," and lull us into a false sense of security until we are unconscious of our

danger, it would be difficult to avoid becoming easygoing and careless, and consequently slack about requiting the enemy. China would then be gradually dismembered and destroyed.

In face of the great crisis confronting us at this moment, there is no use in looking back with vain regrets. If we look ahead to the final outcome of the whole struggle, we may say that the present situation is definitely favorable to China. The basis of our confidence in China's ultimate success in prolonged resistance is not to be found in Nanking, nor in the big cities or municipalities, but in the villages, and in the widespread and unshaken determination of the people. Let our fellow-countrymen realize that there is no possible way of avoiding Japan's wanton aggression; let fathers inform their children, and elder brothers encourage the younger ones; then, animated by general hatred of the enemy, our people will erect defenses everywhere. Throughout the 4,000,000 square miles of Chinese territory, strong fortifications, both visible and invisible, will be erected, and the enemy will receive a mortal blow.

In the present situation you must not be swayed by temporary victories or reverses. Rather should you seek to understand the true meaning of prolonged resistance, and hold firmly to your belief in the ultimate triumph of our cause.

Let me mention briefly a few points for your encouragement. First, the present armed resistance against Japan is an inevitable stage in the progress of China's National Revolution. Externally China desires independence, internally she seeks to maintain her existence as a nation; China therefore strives to loose the bonds that bind her people, and to complete the establishment of a new State. This war with all its bitter suffering was bound to come sooner or later. Our war is a war of the Three Principles of the People (National Independence, Democracy, and Economic Welfare) against the brutal forces of imperialism. It is a war against aggression waged by a people whose land has been invaded, a war for survival and independence. It is a very different struggle from the ordinary international war between equally powerful states. Although we knew from the beginning that we were greatly inferior to our enemy in arms, equipment, and material resources, yet, because of our revolutionary spirit, we never considered that as a reason for dismay or surrender.

A study of the history of nations teaches us that no revolution involving the reconstruction of the State can be accomplished overnight. The more numerous the dangers and obstacles encountered, the richer the harvest of victory. If each encounter only heightens our morale, and if each reverse only makes us more determined, then the clearing away of all obstacles will signalize the day of final victory.

The present Japanese invasion of China has for its chief objectives not merely the occupation of our territory, the massacre of our people, and the destruction of our culture and civilization, but also the eradication of our Three Principles, and the suppression of our revolutionary spirit. So long as this revolutionary spirit exists, our nation cannot be destroyed. The reverses we have suffered so far have not been of a decisive nature. But if we voluntarily submit, our spirit will collapse, and the nation will inevitably be ruined. The humiliation we shall then have to endure—a life of slavery, a life no better than that of a beast of burden—will be infinitely more painful than all the sufferings of the present war.

Fellow-countrymen, you must realize that no nation can free itself from oppression, and bring its revolution to a successful completion, without paying a high price. The more we are willing to suffer today, the more we shall achieve tomorrow. Great as the sacrifices are, let us bear them for the sake of our nation and people and of the generations that will follow us. Suffering cannot be avoided and it must not be refused. This is what prolonged resistance really means.

In the second place, if we realize that China at the present stage of its revolutionary development must fight this way to the very end, then no matter how the present situation may change, we will only press forward, and not on any account stop halfway or surrender. To fight on may not bring us any guarantee of victory, but to capitulate is to court certain disaster. We prefer, therefore, to fight on even though we are defeated, feeling sure that there will come a time when defeat can be turned into victory. But if we submit, there is no hope of our rising again as a nation. If our status as an independent nation is lost, the enemy's methods of crushing and carving up our country will become even more ruthless

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and tyrannical, and we shall not be able to stand up even after "a myriad ages of suffering." We shall perish forever.

The final outcome of a war is often determined by the degree of initiative shown on each side. Hostilities have already lasted five months. The enemy's original plan and hope was to subdue us without having to fight. But from first to last our answer has been to fight back; we have refused to submit. As long as we can hold out, the enemy will never be able to reach his goal.

The deeper the Japanese penetrate into the interior, the more they will be forced to the defensive. If they want to occupy the whole four million square miles of Chinese territory, and destroy our four hundred million people, what an enormous army they will have to have in the field! If all our people resolve neither to submit nor to be dismayed; if as one falls, another takes his place; if everywhere and always we put up strong resistance, then the time must come when Japan's military strength will be completely exhausted, and China will be completely victorious.

Thirdly, Japan's present aggression in China is really the initial phase of her plan for world conquest. Since the very beginning of this struggle China has made clear her two-fold purpose: first, to maintain her own national existence and independence; and secondly, to secure international peace and justice. Although during the past few months international sanctions have not been enforced against Japan, the question as to who is in the right, and who is in the wrong, from the point of view of international justice, has been made manifest to the whole world.

We have boldly taken up this great cause. Now we must support it with all our strength, no matter how the international situation develops. We must not be easily disappointed if things go wrong; still less must we try to depend on others. So long as justice survives in the world, we can be sure that our objectives will some day be realized. However long the road ahead may be, we must not for a moment slacken our effort. With the mandate I have received from the Party and the Government I can only go forward. Let us all go forward; let us never retreat. May you all encourage each other to stand firm in this hour of our nation's greatest peril.

Avenge This Great Wrong

A radio address on the occasion of the Fourth Anniversary of the New Life Movement, February 19, 1938.

FEBRUARY 19, 1938.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

THE fourth anniversary of the New Life Movement comes at a time when a ruthless enemy is cutting deep into Chinese territory, and when our armed resistance is mounting in strength and fury. I am deeply moved today as I look back upon the efforts that we have made during this four-year period.

Our purpose in promoting the New Life Movement has been threefold: to reform the life and habits of our people, to elevate the morale of our nation, and to revive our racial spirit. We want to infuse the principles of *Li I Lien Chih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, and Conscientiousness) into the everyday behavior of all our citizens, so that each one may develop a character worthy of citizenship and become the kind of person that the day demands. We want every citizen to have resolution, courage, and power for the defense of his country in time of crisis.

Just as our reform movement was well under way we were violently attacked by an unprecedently savage foe. The Japanese did not want to see a revived China. Not only have they fought against the resurgence of our nation, but they have tried utterly to destroy our country and our people and to prevent our very existence. For thousands of years we have been a nation that stood for propriety and justice in foreign relations. Now that brutal enemy soldiers are violating our native land, befouling our sacred soil with their animal behavior, and inflicting every kind of cruelty upon our fellow-countrymen, we must all bear our share of the bitter shame. As we talk about "New Life" what can be more important than "wiping out the disgrace and avenging the wrong"?

Think today, my fellow-countrymen, about our great humiliation at the hands of Japan. Think about the enemy's violent actions, his ceaseless attacks upon our territory, the suffering he has imposed

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upon our people, the destruction he has caused to our private property and cultural institutions, and especially the oppression, cruelty, looting, arson, rape, murder, conscription of children and youth, and imprisonment that prevail in the occupied areas. Never in history have a people been so grievously afflicted as our brethren who are now under the Japanese yoke. We can hardly bear to see or to hear what is happening. When I think how, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and organizer of the New Life Movement, I have let the nation meet this disgrace and let the people pass through these "deep waters and burning fires," I am unspeakably sad and ashamed. Nevertheless, while we still draw breath, let us strive to avenge ourselves and to wipe away the stain upon our country's honor. Let us cleanse civilization of the insults it has received. Let us also, with one heart and purpose, never faltering nor wavering, fight on to the end until victory is assured.

Frankly speaking, one of the main reasons why we advocated the New Life Movement was to prepare the people for the duties and responsibilities of just such an emergency as this. Our emphasis upon military training, increased production, and rational behavior (the art of living) and our teachings regarding regularity, simplicity, quickness, and thoroughness were designed to prepare the nation for today's crisis. Now you can all understand what I meant. The spiritual strength of this Movement is one of our most powerful weapons of defense. We do not fear the rage of the enemy; we only fear that we may not be able fully to manifest the age-long character and spirit of our race. No savage inhuman race can permanently exist in this world. The recent exposures of the bestial nature of our enemy's behavior are a clear omen of their imminent moral collapse.

China is a nation with a long history and a great culture, vast territory and immense population, rich raw materials and limitless natural resources. These are all essentials to victory. Let us with united hearts, eager purpose, and strong resolution prepare ourselves for any toil and sacrifice that is necessary, and we shall then be able to fight the foe ceaselessly upon a thousand fronts. Every single soldier and every single weapon will then be a demonstration of our defensive power. The Japanese have been attacking China for more than half a year. Although they have captured the capitals of seven

provinces—Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Chekiang—yet in these same provinces they have occupied no more than a few tens of *hsien* (counties). They actually control less than one-seventh of the area of these seven provinces and, in the counties which they have taken, their authority does not extend beyond the walls of the *hsien* city (county seat). They dare not move into towns and villages a little distance from the main lines of communication. Although they have mobilized more than a million soldiers and have spent millions upon millions of *yen*, yet their plan of quick attack and quick victory has utterly failed. These are the plain facts. The deeper they penetrate into China, the greater their difficulties will become and the more determined shall we be to avenge the wrong done to us. I can promise you, my fellow-countrymen, that our resistance will be successful; the only question is whether we can keep up our fighting spirit and demonstrate the kind of character for which the New Life Movement stands, in order that we may sacrifice to the limit for our country.

The New Life Movement calls for a moral regeneration as the basis of national revival. It aims at a revolution in the hearts of men. *Li I Lien Ch'ih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, and Conscientiousness) have been from of old the moral principles upon which our nation is founded. They are expressed in outward behavior through the virtues of *Chung Hsiao Jen Ai* (Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Kindness, and Love). The times call for utter loyalty of the people to the nation and filial devotion that extends beyond our parents to our ancestors and to our race; in this way we can express our love of country and of fellow-countrymen, manifest the ancient moral greatness of our people, defend ourselves against the violence of our enemy, and stop the invasion of our native land. Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that in the minds of our ancient sages loyalty and filial devotion, if carried to the limit, meant death. Only loyalty that does not fail in a time of danger and crisis can be called great loyalty. Dr. Sun also said that no country in the world has put a fuller meaning into filial devotion than China. The old saying, "Cowardice on the battle front is lack of filial devotion," shows how much great filial devotion involves: an eager willingness to sacrifice one's private interests and take up arms in defense of the State. Furthermore, we should extend the idea of love beyond our

own immediate family and clan to all the people of our nation. Wherever there is a hungry person I should feel his hunger; wherever there is a weak person I should feel his weakness. The sufferings of my fellow-countrymen should become my sufferings; their disgrace should be my disgrace. If we thus extend the idea of loyalty and love to include the whole nation, how can we help rushing to the sacred task of protecting it? How can we doubt and hesitate another moment, or allow ourselves the slightest relaxation of effort? If our people have a strong foundation of character, no power can possibly destroy us. At this critical period in our struggle I hope that all of our fellow-countrymen—whether in the war zones, behind the battle lines, or in the occupied areas—will use the great power of their morale to shatter the force of our enemy's attack upon us.

Fellow-countrymen in the invaded areas: You must show an absolutely unyielding spirit. Remember the many loyal and filial heroes in China's history whose brave exploits we honor with our songs and tears. They were born out of adversity. The more our national character is tested the brighter it shines. So do not one of you shrink back or flinch. Do not be intimidated or fooled by the enemy. Die rather than be a subject people; die rather than obey the puppet governments. Do not trade with or communicate with the enemy. Remember the old saying, "You can rob a man of everything except his will." The more savagely the enemy oppresses us, the more we will show forth the spirit that cannot be conquered. Our fellow-countrymen must also secretly organize and make all possible preparations for revenge. When we think of all those who have had to "repress their feelings and swallow their hate," when we think of all who have died without having their eyes closed by kin or friends—let sons and daughters avenge the wrong done their parents, let brothers avenge the wrong done their sisters, let the living avenge the dead, let us all seek vengeance on behalf of our country. The ancients said, "A nation may wait a hundred generations to take revenge." If a nation after a hundred generations can still seek revenge, how much more ready should we be to seek vengeance who see with our own eyes the violent acts of the enemy and suffer upon our bodies the humiliations which he inflicts. If this means sacrifice and death, then your death is as glorious

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and as worthy of the mourning and honor of your compatriots as the death of soldiers upon the battlefield.

Fellow-countrymen in the rear: "Bend your bodies to the task and strain your energies to the limit." You must give your whole time and strength without stint, fighting with all the intelligence you possess and with your very lives in the cause of national defense. The destiny of our four hundred million people is at stake. Under no circumstances be indifferent just because the danger has not come before your eyes. Armed conflict is but the last stage in resistance. If you want to avenge our national humiliation you must awaken now. Let those who have strength give strength; let those who have money give money. Our army at the front needs constant reinforcement; therefore, all able-bodied and qualified young men should gladly enlist and give up their lives in order to destroy the enemy. How much more noble to sacrifice one's life on the battle line of defense than some day to suffer abuses and cruel death at the hands of the enemy, with no way of seeking redress!

Again, if we are to continue the war, we must increase our production and our manpower. Everyone, whatever his profession, should try to do the work of two in ordinary times. Not only should each one be faithful and industrious in his vocation, but he should double his efforts and make twice the progress that he would have before the war. With undivided heart and purpose let every citizen carry the new responsibilities laid upon him by this war.

Fellow-countrymen throughout the nation: Display as never before the spirit of absolute unity. This means further changes in our ways of thinking and living. We must feel to the depths of our souls the terrible disgrace of this invasion and the awful sufferings that have been inflicted upon so many of our compatriots. Until we have wiped out this humiliation, until we have redressed these wrongs, just so long shall we have failed to do our duty by our oppressed fellow-countrymen. We must love and help each other now more than ever, sharing one another's gains and losses, and sharing in common both good fortune and ill. Let us tear every thread of selfishness from our public life. Let enthusiasm take the place of indifference; let warm sincerity bind us together into one solid body. Let us demonstrate the virtues of kindness and love which have long characterized our race by gathering and comfort-

ing the refugees and destitute, by giving relief to the wounded and sick, by caring for the aged and weak. Nothing is more important than this: that we help each other constantly and co-operate wherever possible, until our four hundred million people become absolutely one in heart and one in strength. We can also further the interests of the war by being stricter with ourselves in our daily living and by more careful economy. At a time like this we cannot afford a bit of improper or careless conduct, for wanton carelessness, as our sages have told us, leads to haste and then to catastrophe. The longer this abnormal period lasts the more shall we need to stand firm upon the four great principles of the New Life Movement, and the more carefully shall we have to watch our everyday habits and behavior. Maintain good discipline and order under all conditions. Cherish the great moral qualities of our race, and with brave and strong temper take up the task of avenging our humiliation and of saving our nation.

Although what I have said does not embrace all the work of the New Life Movement in war time, yet these are all important things which our people should and could be doing. We are not afraid of the enemy no matter how powerful he may be; we are afraid only that we may not in this crisis live up to the great moral heritage of our race. The great ethical principles for which the New Life Movement stands have preserved our nation's existence for thousands of years. If we understand Propriety, then we shall not act foolishly when difficulty comes. If we stress Justice, then we shall be willing to die for the right. If we know Integrity, then we shall distinguish clearly between public and private property and between the true and the false. If we are Conscientious, then we shall be keenly aware of our disgrace in allowing the invader upon our soil.

Fellow-countrymen: I hope that all of you who hear this message will truly live by these principles, that you will show an unconquerable courage, that you will be loyal to the nation and devoted to the people, that you will be loving and kind to your suffering compatriots, and that together with our brave soldiers at the front you will speedily avenge the great wrong done to the people of the invaded areas. Then when victory comes it will signalize the complete revival of our nation, and the celebration of the New Life Movement Anniversary will be even more significant than it is today.

My Religious Faith

A radio broadcast, originally entitled "Why I Believe in Jesus," delivered to Chinese Christians throughout the land on Easter Eve, 1938.

APRIL 16, 1938.

ONE who wishes to succeed in his work, especially one engaged in a revolutionary task, must be free from superstition and yet he must be a man of faith. Especially today, when the evil passions of men are running riot, do we need a firm faith in the ultimate triumph of right. Our country is now being torn asunder; our fellow-countrymen are suffering untold agonies; our men are being massacred, and our women are being ravished. The very existence of our nation is threatened. How can we avert such a terrible calamity and resist the brutal enemy upon our soil except by faith? Therefore, while we must eradicate all superstitions, we must at the same time cultivate a strong and positive faith. For example, if we believe with all our hearts that the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People) are essentially true and just principles, then we shall have the power to put them into effect, and our enemies will never be able to conquer us, no matter how fierce and cruel they may become. Fearlessness and confidence have their roots in an unshakable faith.

Tomorrow is Easter Sunday. This evening I have been asked by the National Federation of Chinese Christians to speak to my fellow-Christians throughout the country. I propose to follow my talk last year* with a further testimony on the subject, "Why I Believe in Jesus."

To my mind the first reason why we should believe in Jesus is that He was the leader of a national revolution. At the time of Jesus' birth the Jewish people were steadily weakening under the

* Good Friday Message read at the All-China Methodist Conference in Nanking, March, 1937.

heavy oppression of Rome. If we study the history of this period we find that the Jews were treated like slaves and animals at the hands of their enemies. The Romans had power of life and death over them. The Jews had not only failed to resist the aggressors, but they had even lost the will to resist. Then a people's revolutionist was born in the person of Jesus, who courageously took upon Himself the heavy task of regenerating the nation. With sacrificial determination He set out to save His people, the world, and all mankind. He took His disciples on many itineraries, and by means of His preaching and healing, His Heaven-given wisdom and matchless eloquence, and His three great ideals of truth, righteousness, and abundant life, He aroused the nation, led the masses, and prepared the way for a people's revolution.

The second reason why we should believe in Jesus is that He was the leader of a social revolution. The causes of a nation's weakness are many. One of the most serious is the inability of the people to improve their living and economy and to put them on a rational foundation. Therefore, one engaged in a people's revolution must begin by ridding society of its darkness and corruption, and then with fresh spirit create a new, expanding, abundant life for all the people, thus setting the nation free. Jesus fully realized that in order to revive His nation and regenerate His people He must launch a social revolution. He sought by the inspiration of His leadership and personality to awaken the perishing masses so that they would give up the ways of darkness, become new citizens, and build the foundations of a new society.

In the third place, Jesus was the leader of a religious revolution. Jesus saw that unless there was a radical reform to sweep away the superstitions and corruption in the organized religion of His day, the real spirit of religion could not shine forth. Hence, He often denounced those who prayed on the street corners, and strongly opposed the use of religion to exploit the people. All of His acts were designed to lead the Jewish religion from darkness to light, from decay to health, from chaos to order, from corruption to purity, and to lead society from the blackness of night into the brightness of day. How important and yet how difficult was this task of reforming religion and of cleansing the religious society! Yet Jesus went ahead with utter disregard of personal suffering, in

order that He might rescue religion and society from the evils that beset them and awaken the people from their spiritual lethargy. I call Jesus a great religious revolutionist.

I have often sought to study the secret of Jesus' revolutionary passion. It seems to me that it is found in His spirit of love. With His wonderful love Jesus sought to destroy the evil in the hearts of men, to do away with social injustices, and to enable everyone to enjoy his natural rights as a human being and receive the blessings of liberty, equality, and happiness. He believed that all men are brothers and that they should love one another and help one another in need. He believed in peace and justice between nations. Throughout His life He opposed violence and upheld righteousness. He was full of mercy and continually helped the weak. His great love and spirit of revolutionary self-sacrifice were demonstrated in all His words and deeds. His purpose to save the world and humanity was firm and His faith was immovable. He gave Himself in utter love and sacrifice for others. He was absolutely fearless, and He struggled to the end. When He was nailed to the cross and made to suffer unspeakable pain, He faced the ordeal with calm and fortitude. His loyalty to His cause and to His sense of duty, and His magnanimity to friends and associates were virtues as precious as they are difficult to attain. See Jesus lifted on the cross; He still looks to Heaven and pleads with God to forgive His enemies for their ignorance. What marvelous Love! Jesus' revolutionary spirit came from His great love for humanity.

If we compare the situation in China during the past few centuries when our national life degenerated under Manchu domination, we find that it was very similar to that occurring among the Jews under the rule of Rome. Our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, with his universal sympathy for all oppressed and his profound understanding of Jesus' revolutionary spirit of love and sacrifice, carried on his revolutionary work for forty years and brought about at last the liberation of the Chinese people. In 1911 he overthrew the autocratic Manchu dynasty and established the Republic of China, thereby completing his mission of national revolution.

As I look at the future of our revolution I am convinced that we cannot truly regenerate our nation unless we have the spirit—the revolutionary spirit—of struggle and sacrifice such as we find

in Jesus. I once said, "We will not abandon peace until all hope of peaceful settlement is gone; but when we reach the limit we will consider no sacrifice too costly." This, I believe, reflected Jesus' spirit. During the past few years, in addition to my regular duties, I have promoted several social movements. The best known movement, and the one which has achieved some measure of success, is the New Life Movement. And yet I feel that this Movement is apt to emphasize outward forms to the neglect of the inner substance, and to put more stress upon material than spiritual values. Where is the trouble? The answer is that many people are thinking only of new modes of living and not of a new quality of life. So I wish to give you this thought tonight: If we want to promote new ways of living, we must have not only a new spirit but also the quality of life that is inspired by the love and sacrificial purpose of Jesus.

In conclusion, Jesus' spirit is positive, sacrificial, sure, true, progressive, inspiring, and always revolutionary. We observe Easter this year at a time of grave national peril. Easter testifies to the immortality of Jesus' spirit. We who share the Christian faith should treasure the Easter message of rebirth and resurrection. We should follow Jesus' way of sacrifice. We should take His life as our example, His spirit as our spirit, His life as our life. Let us march together toward the Cross, for the regeneration of our nation and for the realization of everlasting peace on earth.

The Responsibilities of China's Youth

An address to the youth of the whole nation on the occasion of the organization of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, June 16, 1938.

JUNE 16, 1938.

THE constitution of the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People) Youth Corps has already been drawn up, and the process of organization has now begun. As leader of the Party and State to whom, at this time of grave difficulty and peril, solemn responsibilities have been entrusted, I consider the launching of this new movement to be one of the most significant events in our long struggle for national survival. At the beginning, therefore, of its organization I wish to state clearly the meaning and the mission of the Youth Corps and what I expect from the beloved youth of our nation.

Youth are the vanguard of the Revolution; they are the new life of the nation. In every great social advance and in every important revolution youth have provided the driving power and have set the forces of change in motion. For example, in our own recent history, the chief participants in such movements as the Revolution of 1911 (which brought about the downfall of the Manchu dynasty) and the overthrow of the warlords in 1926-1927 were the nation's youth. The glorious history of their struggle and self-sacrifice will be a fragrant memory so long as there is a Republic of China. Today, when a ruthless enemy is invading and ravaging our country, when we have already resisted for a whole year and a new and momentous epoch is dawning in our history, we must look even more to the youth of the nation to unite and press forward as one body if we are to complete the stupendous task of Resistance and Reconstruction.

I am firmly convinced that China, with her long history, her vast territory, and her great population, will most certainly win the

victory and complete the task of reconstruction if she can concentrate her resources and continue the struggle without flinching. Resistance and Reconstruction is a necessary stage in the Revolution, and the Revolution will most certainly in the end be brought to a successful consummation. But how soon the consummation will take place depends entirely on the scale of our efforts, and on the spirit of those who carry on the fight.

As for me, I have given myself completely to the Party and the State, and long ago put all thoughts of personal success or failure out of my mind. I have always regarded the National Revolution as our permanent task, a task of stupendous importance and difficulty. Our youth, full of revolutionary spirit, who are now carrying on the tasks of the Revolution are precious as jewels to me. They are my very life. The countless number of revolutionary youths in our nation must join together to form one mighty body, and as one falls another must step up fearlessly and unwaveringly to take his place. Then we shall be able to carry our principles into effect; then we shall be able to protect the State, to revive the nation, and to reach the ultimate goal of our Revolution. Because of my intense hopes for the youth of China, I feel very keenly my responsibility for their future success or failure. The fate of China lies in their hands. The responsibility for organizing and training them to become worthy citizens of China, able to undertake the tasks of Resistance and Reconstruction, is mine; I cannot evade it. The Youth Corps has now been organized to fulfill this responsibility and to meet the urgent needs of our nation and society at the present time.

First, I want to state briefly the main reasons for the organization of the Youth Corps:

1. To complete the task of Resistance and Reconstruction. If we want to win the war and complete our reconstruction, we must develop the "vast resources of the nation" as a foundation on which to build. By developing the vast resources of the nation I mean awakening and uniting the youth of the whole nation. In the past the number of China's youth who fought and struggled sacrificially for the Revolution was by no means small. But now, because of disorganized education, the lack of habits of discipline, and the absence of training in group living, many youths, although patriotic in spirit, have not known how to express their patriotism in action.

So a radical change is necessary. By strict teaching and discipline we must correct the bad habits of the past. We must give the young men and women of the nation training through the Youth Corps that will make them into modern citizens. We must eliminate the old ways of thinking and behavior, and in their place cultivate the new independent spirit of a modern state, and a strong, self-reliant type of life. Within the Youth Corps there will naturally be different officers, some of higher rank than others, but it is essential that discipline be the same for everyone. Only thus will it be possible to bring about a real change in the daily living habits of our youth, and to direct their thoughts and actions toward a single goal. With a new national and racial consciousness they will be able to give vital expression to their patriotism and loyalty. Their work and influence will be powerfully effective, and they will lay strong foundations for our reviving national life.

2. To secure a concentration of fresh strength for the National Revolution. The strength of the Revolution has always lain in its emphasis upon unity. The forces latent in our youth, who have always been a dynamic source of revolutionary action, must now be united into one solid mass. The Youth Corps must give the nation's youth a single purpose and a thorough physical and mental training; it must develop their character through instruction in the Three Principles of the People, and guide their thoughts and actions, so that they may become the new blood continuing the Revolution. Now when the very existence of our nation is hanging by a thread, if we allow our youth to remain scattered and disorganized, each going his own way, they will have many conflicting purposes, their strength will be reduced and, when the crisis comes, they will all perish together. China's youth, therefore, in the difficult circumstances of this war and reconstruction period, must on no account follow the example of certain other nations and permit the existence and propagation of all sorts of different political beliefs and practices. We shall teach our youth fundamental political ideas—one philosophy of the State, one set of principles, and one direction of our efforts. There is but one road for the young men and women of China who would spend and be spent for their country, and that is the road of devoted loyalty and complete unity. This applies not merely to youths themselves but also to all educated leaders

of youth. No matter what their party or group affiliation, they must, if they have at heart the welfare of the nation, lovingly lead our young men and women to unite under the banner of the Youth Movement. Let them do all they can to train our youth, and through them bring the Revolution to completion. Our fresh revolutionary strength will then be powerfully and continuously focused upon a single objective, and the great force thus created—by the fusing of many purposes into one—will not only drive out the Japanese invader and save our country, but will prove to all future generations the spiritual unity of our nation.

3. To give concrete expression to the Three Principles of the People. The Three Principles, first enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, are the basis of our Revolution and National Reconstruction. They form the common faith of the whole nation during this War of Resistance. The reason why they are highly regarded is because they are practicable and meet China's real needs. But those who believe in the Three Principles must not be satisfied with mere belief; they must also feel it their responsibility to put the Principles into practice. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's philosophy was: "Knowing is difficult, but doing is easy." Therefore, he first taught the people new principles, and then spurred them on to action. This was just what was needed to correct the bad tendency of our people to fear difficulties and seek ease.

This Youth Corps must, by its own practice of the Three Principles, inspire all the nation's youth. Through its organization and training it must arouse courage and determination to overcome all obstacles and to carry out the Three Principles unswervingly to the end. No matter how difficult or dangerous the circumstances under which they live, no matter how dark their future may be, they must not for one moment despair or give up what has been committed to their charge. The young men and women of the Corps who believe in and practice the Three Principles must become new life-cells of the nation; they must be pioneers in the building of the new China; and worthy examples to all the people. This must go on until we see among the youth of the nation, organized and trained in the ideology and system of the Three Principles, an outburst of tremendously vital energy. If our revolutionary youth all

believed in and practiced the Three Principles, we could be absolutely confident of their realization.

The purpose behind the creation of the Youth Corps has been stated. China today must complete her task of Resistance and Reconstruction; even more must she develop revolutionary strength to carry on the tasks that lie ahead. The great mission which the Youth Corps has undertaken on behalf of the State is twofold: the mobilization of the nation's youth for Resistance and Reconstruction, and the union of all the best revolutionary elements to increase the power of our Revolution. If we can fulfill these two missions, then the Three Principles can certainly be realized, the insults of the foreign invader can be blotted out, and a new, free, and independent China can be brought into being. On the one hand, we should meet the urgent needs of wartime mobilization; on the other hand, we should train a staff of workers that will be able in the near future to direct our national and social reconstruction. If we are to carry out this great and hard task, we must expect all the youth who join the Corps to be orderly, dignified, sincere, and single-minded, and to take upon themselves the following special responsibilities:

a. *Wartime mobilization*

In accordance with the plans for total mobilization, our youth must take an active part according to their individual abilities in national defense, production, communications, propaganda, or educational work. They must be public spirited and obedient to law; they must carry out their duties with the utmost loyalty; they must be willing to undergo toil and hardship without seeking ease or rest. They must look upon struggle as their heaven sent lot and accept sacrifice as a matter of course. If our youth all have this spirit, then our War of Resistance will unquestionably end in victory.

b. *Military training*

While the war is on, all our youth should receive strict military training. Every member of the Youth Corps will then have the necessary skills to help in the defense of his country. This military training should include training in morale, devotion to country and loyalty to Party, physical training so as to make them strong and healthy, training for life that will enable them to undergo toil and

hardship, and training in action that will teach them to do things quickly and accurately. When our youth have had this kind of education, they will get rid of the decadent idea and custom that a scholar must be weak in body; they will go on to influence society; and they will be able, because of the spirit inspired by this military discipline, to carry all our reconstruction forward to completion.

c. *Political training*

All our youth should receive political training, so that they may have some basic knowledge of how to set up the government of a state based on the Three Principles of the People. They should know how the "four powers of government" (executive, legislative, judicial, and the power of impeachment) are to be exercised, how local autonomy works, and other important points. They should know the first steps in training for self-government, and understand the fundamental methods of controlling, organizing, and leading the masses. If our youths are to have in the realm of thought real faith in the Three Principles, and in the realm of action are to make wise use of the rights of citizens in a modern democratic state, such knowledge is essential. Upon it we can build the new China "of, by, and for the people."

d. *Cultural reconstruction*

The strength of a nation is dependent on the cultural standard of the mass of the people. Now the degree of knowledge possessed by the bulk of our people is far inferior to that of the people of the Great Powers. Our educated youth must, therefore, take the initiative, and participate in the task of eliminating illiteracy, and of making popular education a reality. They should also help in wartime propaganda. We must, in as short a time as possible, improve the political knowledge of the ordinary people, and raise their cultural standard, so that our nation may be able to advance along the road to liberty and equality in the modern world.

e. *Hard work and service*

Our youth must grasp the significance of Dr. Sun's final message that "the purpose of life lies in service." Each week everyone should participate in at least ten hours of some form of productive social service. On the one hand, they will help to increase production and

improve the nation's financial position, and on the other, they will, through such service, win their way into the hearts of the people and appreciate fully their sufferings. By mixing with the people, and by their actual work and accomplishments, they will win the confidence of all their fellow-countrymen.

f. Production

Our young people must pay special attention to scientific training, and make their knowledge and actions scientific. In this way a new type of national character—systematic and methodical, accurate and practical—will be developed. It is even more necessary for youth to make every effort to secure technical training, and so acquire productive skills and the habit of hard work. Then a large number will be available for service in agriculture, commerce, communications, mining, electrical work, and all kinds of light and heavy industries. This will hasten the completion of our great program of national reconstruction.

These are the responsibilities which the Youth Corps must energetically take up now and in the future. They may also be regarded as a covenant to which all the youth of our Revolution should subscribe. But if we want to accomplish this task, our youth must get rid of their old habits, and stir themselves to new action; they must show fresh vitality, and radically reform their mode of life. They must not merely limit their enjoyments and adopt a Spartan regime, but they must also cultivate habits of orderliness, cleanliness, simplicity, frankness, quickness, and accuracy. They must eliminate such bad habits as disorderly behavior, uncleanliness, diffuse activity, extravagance, dilatoriness, and superficiality, and through their new life of hard work and real economy help to reform the customs of society. Then all the people of China, inspired by the discipline, obedience, and corporate spirit of our youth, will march together to become a modern nation.

To sum up, the Youth Corps aims to bring together the best youths of the whole nation, whether soldiers, laborers, farmers, merchants, or students, and to give them systematic training. It aims also to unite these youths in one organization, and to subject them to the rules of the New Life Movement, so that as they come to understand the four great virtues—propriety, justice, integrity, and con-

scientiousness—which are the fundamentals of a modern state, they may combine their strength and wisdom, and with one heart and one mind shoulder responsibility, observe the rules of discipline, and lay the foundation of a new modern state based on the *San Min Chu I*. The Youth Corps was established not to solve the livelihood problems of individuals, but to solve our national problems through the offering by youth of their life, strength and freedom to the service of the State. It was set up, not to enable our youth to live lives of ease and pleasure, but in order that they might share their joys and sorrows, their difficulties and dangers, and accomplish together our task of Resistance and Reconstruction, thus making the Three Principles a living reality.

China's humiliation and danger have now reached the extreme limit. Our vast territory with its rivers and its mountains, its valleys and its steppes, has everywhere been overrun by our enemy. Our nation, with its long history stretching back through five thousand years, today faces a crisis that will decide its survival or its destruction. The sacrifice of countless revolutionary heroes and of the soldiers who are dying today for their country—their red blood and bleached bones—cries out to the youth of the nation to continue the struggle and complete their task. We must courageously face our past failure to lead and train our youth, and earnestly strive now to create a practical revolutionary organization for them all. To meet the immediate pressing needs of our State and people, we must make this an organization that will include the flower of our youth, the keenest and best young revolutionists in the nation. I am confident that our great host of young men and women, filled with the spirit of the Revolution and recognizing clearly their responsibility for the future of the nation, will rouse themselves to vigorous action. Let our youth unite in the Youth Corps, obey its discipline and commands, receive its training and guidance. Thus they will enhance the value of the Youth Corps to the State and enable it to complete its great and sacred mission. I, who have been entrusted with heavy responsibilities by the Party and the State, say again to my young friends throughout the nation that they must unite. They must be willing to live and suffer and, if need be, die together. This is the only way to attain our goal of a new and glorious China. Descendants of Hwang Ti, Youth of China, arise!

11

China's Path to Victory

An address at the inaugural session of the People's Political Council in Hankow, July 6, 1938.

JULY 6, 1938.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

IT IS a great privilege for me to be able to attend this great gathering today—the inaugural session of the People's Political Council. That you members of the Council have all been able to meet together here at this time, when the enemy forces are advancing deep into our country and cruelly oppressing our people, is an event of tremendous significance in the history of the Republic. Now that we are in the midst of our War of Resistance and our program of national reconstruction, the work of this People's Political Council is especially important. And so I want to take the opportunity afforded by the opening session to present a few ideas for your consideration.

It is a year now since we took up arms in self-defense. There used to be a great deal of criticism by some people with regard to our War of Resistance. The criticism was chiefly to the effect that we had mobilized only our military forces, and had failed to rally the nation's political strength and to mobilize all the people for direct participation in the war. This view was frequently heard expressed in our own country. But now the People's Political Council has been formed, the situation is different. You, the members of the Council, are all respected leaders in your various localities. You will certainly be able to give both the civilian population and the soldiers at the front greater encouragement and comfort than they have had in the past, and thus increase our powers of resistance and confidence in final victory.

Abroad, especially among our enemies the Japanese imperialists, there is still the idea that only China's military forces are resisting the invader, and that the rest of the nation is socially and politically

just as it was before; that is, disorganized and disunited. In their opinion, China cannot be described as waging war on a national scale in the modern sense of the word. That is why the Japanese dared to invade our country and to oppress our people. They were sure that they could defeat and absorb China. But from the time we started nation-wide resistance, their plans for the destruction of our nation and the extermination of our race have been completely exposed and frustrated.

An even heavier blow can be dealt the invader by the People's Political Council, the opening session of which is being held here today. The Council gathers into one body the talent of the whole nation, the most learned and the most experienced and those of the highest character, from every party and class and organization. Such a gathering of men and women, as they bring their full intellectual powers to bear on our problems, and give concrete expression to the country's united determination to support the Government in the war, can give the enemy a tremendous shock. For the chief reason why the Japanese dare to despise us and plan the destruction of our nation is not our military weakness, but what they have seen of lack of cohesion within the nation and lack of unity in the Government, and their feeling that we had not developed any adequate basis for a modern state. They thought, therefore, that they could defeat us, even if they used only a small part of their armed forces.

Before the war the Japanese thought the Chinese Army would not be able to withstand one assault of their troops. But facts today prove that we can not only withstand the invader, but also steadily wear him down. Further, we have shown by our organization and actions that we are politically united in this war, so that the enemy has been obliged to change his conception of China's strength; he realizes now that all our national resources have been concentrated under the Government to meet the invasion. This has been a fatal blow to the enemy. The chief significance of this Council and its central purpose is found in the mobilization of all our strength as a people to fight the invader to the death, to secure victory, and to accomplish our national program of reconstruction.

To attain these objectives, however, we must first complete two fundamental tasks:

In the first place, the inauguration of the People's Political Council, at a time when the nation is engaged in a desperate struggle for its existence, is designed to meet the pressing needs of this great emergency. During this extraordinary period the Council is charged with especially heavy responsibilities. We may say that the particular function of this Council is the prosecution of the war and the rebuilding of the nation. All our deliberations and all our work must be directed toward bringing the war to a victorious conclusion, and toward furthering the speedy completion of our national reconstruction. We must unitedly and effectively exert our full strength; we must develop our resources to the utmost so that we can attain our objectives. The first task that must be completed is the strengthening of our national solidarity. If we can solidly unite, then, even though we are a weak country, we shall be able to meet the strongest foe. But even the strongest country without internal unity can be invaded and ultimately destroyed. In this period, therefore, of national resistance and reconstruction there is nothing so vital as strengthening the bonds of national unity. I hope that each of you will do your best to strengthen the spirit and unify the will of the whole nation until the hearts of all our four hundred and fifty million people beat as one. I hope you will help to direct all the resources of the country toward finishing quickly the tremendous task of national defense and reconstruction. Whatever recommendations may come up for discussion, and whatever resolutions you may pass, let your one object be to complete this task.

Secondly, we must lay the foundation for democracy in China. The chairman has just pointed out that the People's Political Council is not a temporary conference. Rather it is the means by which, during this period of resistance, we should lay the foundation of a true and permanent form of democratic government. How can this be done? To begin with, I hope that you will set up a model of democratic procedure in this Council. What is democracy? Democracy is liberty—a liberty which does not infringe on the liberty nor encroach on the rights of others; a liberty which maintains strict discipline, and makes law its guarantee and the basis of its exercise. This alone is true liberty; this alone can produce true democracy.

Especially at this time of crisis, when the fate of the whole nation is hanging in the balance, true democratic liberty is to be found, not in the liberty of the individual or of any small group, but in the sacrifice of individual and group liberty in order to win freedom for the whole nation. If we want to obtain this freedom we must recognize the position in which the nation, and we ourselves as individuals, are placed today, and the demands of the present time and circumstances. Only thus can we make our laws effective, defend our country successfully, and set up a model democratic government. Only thus can we lay the basis of national liberty. We must have real democratic ideals and spirit if we are to carry out the mission of this Political Council.

The Republic has now been established for twenty-seven years. Looking back over this period, we see that although we have had so-called popular assemblies, we have not become a state with a real democratic constitution. On the contrary, because of various corrupt practices in the past, the nation has been divided and chaotic, and therefore very weak. As a result we have been subjected to the humiliation of this invasion by the Japanese. Of course the People's Political Council is not a parliament, but warned by the failure of the democratic procedure of previous popular assemblies, you should strive hard to lay the foundation of a truly democratic government. This is another of the important duties resting on your shoulders in connection with our national reconstruction.

If from now on we are going to lay the foundation of democracy in China, then all you who are members of the People's Political Council must set an example yourselves, and guide the people so that everyone does his duty and shoulders his responsibility. Everyone must obey the laws and strive for the good of the State as a whole, so that we may win the final victory.

In short, if the People's Political Council henceforth is to bear the responsibility of Resistance and Reconstruction, and bring them both to a successful conclusion, then it is essential that the interests of the State and the nation be placed before everything else. In all recommendations, discussions, and resolutions, and in our own words and actions as individuals, we must give first consideration

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to the needs of the State and the nation, and make the successful conclusion of the war our prime objective. I hope you will all with firm union of hearts and in one solid front face bravely the national emergency. I hope that sincerity, frankness, and justice will mark all your actions, and that all the resolutions passed by the Council will be aimed at meeting the needs of the war and reconstruction period, so that you may fulfill the great mission entrusted to you at this time. I wish the People's Political Council every success.

12

The Choice Before Us

A revised press report of Generalissimo Chiang's message to the armed forces and civilians on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Sino-Japanese War, July 7, 1938.

JULY 7, 1938.

GENERALISSIMO Chiang began by paying a high tribute to China's heroic war dead. He then expressed his profound gratitude to the people for their excellent spirit in accepting the hardships of war, and in carrying on the struggle against great odds. Although nine provinces had been turned into war areas with resultant heavy losses in life and property and untold suffering at the hands of the invaders, China's gallant resistance and unprecedented unity had completely changed the world's estimation of China and had raised her international standing.

At the end of one year's hostilities, the Generalissimo said that he noticed one remarkable difference between the two nations. While the Japanese had been continually changing their tactics, dashing hither and thither like frenzied animals, the Chinese had held unswervingly to their original policy.

Since the outbreak of the war, the Japanese had been compelled to increase their war expenditure again and again. They had found it necessary to send more and more reinforcements to China. The Japanese militarists were confident at first that they could win the war in a very short time. Later they warned the Japanese people that hostilities would be prolonged. "Now," the Generalissimo pointed out, "they have altered their tone again, declaring that Japan will do her utmost to conclude the war at an early date."

"China," he continued, "has from the very beginning been prepared for the worst. We long ago made up our minds to face whatever difficulties and sufferings might be our lot."

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The Generalissimo reminded the nation of his statements in July and October of last year, when he asked the Chinese people to assume courageously the responsibility of preserving the nation's existence. This is a task bequeathed to them by their ancestors, and they must be ready to sacrifice everything, even their lives, in a war which, he declared, would not end within six months or even a year's time.

"These words of mine still hold good today," the Generalissimo declared. "We have long been determined to make the greatest sacrifices for achievement of final victory, independence, and liberty. At the same time, we are fighting in defense of justice and righteousness.

"Our objective is well-defined. We want to protect our territorial integrity and sovereignty. We are determined to force our enemy to abandon his aggression, and to alter his traditional conception of our country. Our final aim is the re-establishment of peace in East Asia.

"We shall carry on our War of Resistance until we attain this object. We shall fight to the finish, even if but one inch of our territory is left, and but one Chinese is still alive. Come what may, this resolution is final."

With regard to the gallantry of the Chinese soldiers and civilians and their capacity to endure hardships, the Generalissimo said that he was deeply gratified with the spirit shown in the past, but he felt that the mere performance of duty had not so far sufficed to cope with the increasingly difficult situation.

In order to win the war, he said, the Chinese soldiers and people should not only be confident of being able to win the final victory, but should actively work toward its realization. They must not passively await the day of victory, but should work for it with all their strength and with all their resources.

"We must be prepared to sacrifice everything, at any time and at any place. We must be ready to give up our own pleasure, our individual happiness, our interests, and our liberty, and when necessary, our very lives," Generalissimo Chiang declared.

The contributions made by the people to the national cause were of equal value irrespective of their social position. Each should strive to fulfill his duty to the limit. The combined efforts of all

would then be like a rushing torrent sweeping away all obstacles and overcoming all difficulties.

To maintain the war effort, the Generalissimo said, the people would have to practice the greatest economy. All unnecessary consumption would have to be avoided. The best possible use should be made of all raw materials, and ways and means should be found of insuring that all exportable products reached their respective markets. Every cent saved in the rear would mean that much more fighting strength at the front.

Co-ordination in action and oneness of purpose were of particular importance. Bravery and perseverance were not enough, the Generalissimo observed. This was true not only at the front but also in the rear, where economic activities with a bearing on national defense must be pushed ahead simultaneously with the war activities.

Nothing had won China more sympathy abroad than her national unity, and there was nothing the Japanese would like to destroy more than this unity. Everyone must place the interests of the country above everything else. Everyone must give priority to military affairs and to the attainment of victory.

"The road before China is clear," Generalissimo Chiang declared. "Unless we fight hard, we shall be conquered. On the other hand, if we unite and fight side by side, we have a great future. Since our very life is at stake, and since our interests are the same, what is there that we cannot bear to sacrifice? It is a matter of vital importance for the future of the war that we oppose the enemy with the concentrated power of a united nation. We must remain absolutely and permanently united."

The Generalissimo exhorted the people, as the second year of war began, to mobilize their entire strength, and to deepen their determination to sacrifice everything in the supreme struggle ahead. He said the next one or two months would mark an important turning point in the war.

To Chinese military units assigned to defend the Wuhan area, the Generalissimo said: "You must be determined to live and die at your posts." He ordered civilians to co-operate in every possible way with the Army. "The battle of Central China now under way is so important that armed forces and civilians throughout the country must regard it as the crucial event of their lives."

The Generalissimo asked his audience to think of the suffering of the Chinese people in the occupied areas, and to try to visualize their life under Japanese oppression. He also asked them to think of the Chinese in the four Northeastern Provinces, whose agony and misery were infinitely worse than that of people in the recently occupied areas. They must be rescued, so that they could once again enjoy freedom as citizens of China.

The Japanese were bent not only on conquering China, but also on exterminating the Chinese race. Arson, pillage, rape, and massacre were only the more glaring atrocities. Everywhere the Japanese went they opened brothels, opium dens, and gambling houses. They conspired with bandits and set up puppet organizations composed of the worst elements of the population. They obviously aimed at sapping the vitality of the Chinese people and destroying their moral standards. Worst of all, they gathered hundreds of Chinese women and girls together, and perpetrated nameless outrages. Clearly this was designed to break down the national spirit of the Chinese people and their age-old sense of decency.

The Generalissimo declared that never before in the history of the world had there been an aggressor nation so vicious and evil. "In order to save ourselves and our descendants and protect our nation, we must at this very moment swear to deal a death blow to the invader. Delay may bring about a catastrophe that will be regretted forever." The Generalissimo added that if China could not erase all traces of humiliation and punish the aggressor, then, for the individual Chinese, life would be like death, and the fate of the nation would be virtual extinction. A shameless and supine nation could never maintain its independent existence.

With the Japanese intensifying their aggression, there had appeared traitors and puppets willing to feed out of the hands of the Japanese. They had attacked the Kuomintang and denounced China's War of Resistance against Japan. These denationalized Chinese had been spreading the view that if China did not seek peace now, she would be conquered. Only denationalized individuals were capable of entertaining such an idea. They were hated by all patriotic citizens of China.

"We ought to realize," the Generalissimo continued, "that it is a national characteristic of the Chinese people never to surrender

to an enemy, and never to be afraid of foes, however ferocious they may be. The Chinese people cannot be coerced into submission. Indeed, the fiercer their enemy, the more stubborn will be their resistance. We must hold fast to our confidence of victory—a confidence based on the fact that throughout the five thousand years of China's history, there has not been one foreign race hostile to China that has escaped final defeat at the hands of the Chinese.

"Today, with national consciousness awakened, and with the Three Principles taking a deep root in the hearts of the masses, all the people of China—men and women, old and young, those within the country and those without—are united in hatred of the Japanese. This is something which did not exist ten years ago, let alone a century ago.

"Today," continued the Generalissimo, "our strength to resist is unlimited and our spirit is undaunted. That is why I say that even if we had only one soldier and one bullet left, we should continue to fight. Besides, we are sure of winning the final triumph. This confidence is not a groundless hope, but is borne out by our long history. Our increasing power of resistance has been unmistakably demonstrated during the last year. As long as we maintain our self-confidence, we shall undoubtedly be rewarded for our sacrifice of precious blood.

"Furthermore, our heroic struggle will force the enemy to abandon his aggressive designs in favor of peace between the two nations. The day of our final triumph will also mark the realization of genuine peace in this part of the world.

"On the other hand, if we sue for peace in the present circumstances, it will mean the enslavement of generations of our children to Japan. Even if we retain the form and name of a nation, the sufferings that will befall our people will be more tragic than the lot of a conquered race."

The Generalissimo attributed China's present ordeal and calamity to the timidity and neglect of the permanent interests of the nation on the part of the late Ching dynasty after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, and on the part of Yuan Shih-kai some twenty years afterwards. He said that the Chinese today were simply reaping the harvest of what had been so carelessly sown a generation ago.

Should the Chinese fail to rid themselves of the delusion of security under which their fathers labored, and neglect to place all their resources in strength and wealth at the disposal of the State so as to ensure the continued existence of the nation, then the outcome would be disastrous. For the Japanese today were more treacherous and scheming than ever before. China would not only have no temporary peace, but would find it impossible to regain her lost liberty and independence, even after three hundred years.

To seek life by braving death was the only course open to the Chinese people, and the guiding principle for the nation should be that of achieving a closer unity than ever in this struggle for national survival and independence. They should be prepared for the worst. The Chinese of this present generation must fulfill their duty, so that they might be worthy of their ancestors, and at the same time live up to the expectations of all friendly nations.

"I am confident," the Generalissimo declared, "that if the entire nation can rise like one man, united in one determination, we can at least make the enemy pay so heavily that he will collapse at the same time as we do." He added, however, that the prospects were much better than that. For the strength of international justice was steadily asserting itself, and Japan's difficulties were mounting and her dangers increasing as the war went on. "In fact," he reiterated, "China can look forward to a bright future. The Chinese ought, therefore, to show greater courage than ever and march ahead despite all obstacles.

"Ask any soldier at the front," the Generalissimo suggested, "and he will tell you that the Japanese are really not so strong as they look. He will also tell you that in point of bravery and spirit of sacrifice the Chinese troops are vastly superior to the Japanese. As for morale and fighting spirit, the Chinese forces are many times better than the Japanese."

The Generalissimo wanted the Chinese armed forces and civilians to understand that the closer they came to their goal of victory, the harder they would have to fight. Psychologically speaking, if the Chinese were not afraid of the Japanese, the latter would be afraid of them. He emphasized that there were no difficulties too great to overcome.

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"Our War of Resistance is one year old today. After today the demand for our self-sacrifice will be ten and even one hundred times greater than in the past. Therefore, we must be more watchful and more courageous, work harder and be readier than ever to run risks and face difficulties. After clearing our path of all barriers, we shall march along the road to a bright future.

"Men, officers, and civilians, we must stand together and fight to the last. We must not disappoint all the lovers of justice and peace throughout the world who repose great hopes in us. We must win a glorious victory in order to comfort the souls of our civilian dead, and to rescue our suffering brethren in the occupied areas. We must fight in order to make ourselves worthy of our heroic war dead. We must fight to complete the task they left unfinished. We must fight to fulfill our historic mission."

Japan: Enemy of Humanity

A message to friendly nations on the first anniversary of China's War of Resistance, July 7, 1938.

JULY 7, 1938.

PEOPLES OF FRIENDLY NATIONS:

TODAY is the first anniversary of China's War of Resistance against the aggression of Japanese imperialism. On behalf of the four hundred and fifty million Chinese, soldiers and civilians, who are fighting in the cause of justice, I want to express my sincere and unbounded gratitude to all friendly Powers and to all individual friends of China who have helped us in our struggle.

From the seventeenth year of the Republic (1928), which saw the unification of China, until now, we have constantly followed the principles laid down by our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his *San Min Chu I* and in all the other writings he has left us. We have taken these as a basis for our national reconstruction. Internally, our efforts have been directed toward the revival of our nation. Externally, our policy has been, in collaboration with other nations, to strive for the maintenance of justice in the world, and to make our contribution to civilization and the welfare of mankind. For ten years we have not relaxed our efforts. This fact is well known to all friends of China whether nations or individuals.

And yet, the Japanese, driven by their mad idea of world conquest and believing that to conquer the world they must first conquer China, have subjected our country to increasing violence and oppression, endeavoring to undermine our National Revolution and to prevent our national unification. Countless examples can be given of their infamous plans and treacherous designs.

Let us examine the history of Sino-Japanese negotiations during the past sixty years. Is not every case a clear proof of the disregard of justice by Japanese imperialists, and of their willful violation of international law? The Mukden incident on September 18, 1931,

was part and parcel of Japan's premeditated plan. With a lightning stroke Japan seized our Northeastern Provinces and enslaved thirty million of our fellow-countrymen. It was like "the roar of thunder that comes so quickly there is no time to cover one's ears." This violent and illegal action shook the world. But China was willing to endure patiently this oppression, and after the battle of the Great Wall signed the Tangku Agreement, hoping that Japan would awaken to her own folly.

Cruelty has become second nature to the Japanese militarists, and their greed and savagery have steadily grown. The fact that China was becoming increasingly unified and stable and was making such great strides forward in reconstruction stuck like a thorn in Japan's side, so that Japanese militarists "could neither sleep nor eat." When they gained an inch they proceeded to take a foot, and oppressed our people unceasingly. A year ago today they carried things to an extreme. They began illegal maneuvers, attacking by night our garrison at Lukouchiao near Peiping, and thus picked a quarrel with us for no reason at all. They followed this up by a large-scale attack on Shanghai with their sea, air, and land forces.

China, with her five thousand years of history, her vast territory and her enormous population stands like a mountain peak among the nations of the world. Her contribution to the civilization of mankind is imperishable. She has been a keen lover of peace; she has had a deep respect for international justice. In this the whole country has been united, and the whole world knows it. But there is a limit to the aggression to which we will submit. We cannot submit when our existence as a nation, the territorial integrity of our country, and the independence and sovereignty of our State are at stake, and when international justice and respect for treaties are involved. It was, therefore, with the greatest determination that we began our sacred War of Resistance against these mad Japanese imperialists, who ignore justice and tear up treaties, and who dream of conquering China as a prelude to conquering the world. We have already dealt the aggressor some hard blows.

Entrusted as I have been by the Party and the nation with the grave responsibility of leadership, sustained by the sincere support of the people, and encouraged by the hopes placed in me by friendly nations, I certainly shall not try to shift the responsibility to others.

I have in the past often stated my sworn resolve to rid our land entirely of the invader, to complete the reconstruction of New China, and, in concert with other friendly nations, to strive toward a new era of prosperity for all mankind, and of peace throughout the world.

I have been actively engaged for a whole year in carrying out this mission. Let me review the most significant and memorable events of this period. Beginning from Peiping and Tientsin, the Japanese have carried hostilities into Chahar and Suiyuan, into Shansi and Shantung, and then into Kiangsu, Chekiang, Hunan, and Anhwei. Superficially, it would seem as though the invaders have occupied a vast area as large as Europe, but actually all that they hold are one or two lines of communications, and a few strategic points. When the Japanese seized such and such a point, or line of communication, it by no means fell like a ripe plum into their hands; they captured these places only by using their powers to the very limit, even to the point of exhaustion, and they paid a very high price for their successes.

The indomitable will that animates all of our people in this war against aggression must be well known to all friendly Powers; there is no need for me to dwell upon it. What I do want to emphasize is the barbarism of the Japanese militarists, a barbarism which would wipe out those basic human qualities that Heaven has implanted in man. This barbarism affects the whole future of mankind, and cannot be passed by. Since we began our resistance to the enemy countless industries and vast quantities of raw material, at the front and in the occupied areas, have been totally destroyed, and young men and girls, women and children, the old and the weak, have been subjected to unspeakable horrors, to rape and plunder and burning and death. The Japanese air force has continued unceasingly to attack our open cities and undefended countryside, and taking as its special targets our cultural, educational, and philanthropic institutions and our residential areas, has constantly rained bombs upon them. Not only so, but wherever Japanese fury has reached, the institutions and industries carried on for many years by nationals of friendly nations have been reduced to ashes.

Take for example the open city of Canton. Recently for more than half a month it has been bombed continually day and night—and with what result? Several thousands of ordinary folk have

not merely heard the sound of exploding bombs, but have been blown to pieces. Officials and nationals of all the friendly Powers have conducted investigations on the spot, or have taken photographs of the bombings. The terrible scenes, unprecedented in world history, have made their blood run cold. They have described in detail what they have witnessed, in order to expose the true character of this barbarous nation. If the savage cruelty of these Japanese bandits perpetrated in the name of civilization is allowed to continue unchecked and unpunished, then the world will never know permanent peace or justice, and we shall be left with an indelible stain upon our consciences.

When China began her resistance to aggression Japan, relying on the quality of the military equipment she had accumulated over several decades, believed that the conquest of China would be a matter of but two or three weeks at the most. With this idea the Japanese government deceived their people and enticed them into carrying out blindly their policy of destruction. Who would have thought that in the one area of Shanghai alone we should have held up the enemy for more than three months; while during the months that followed, in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shansi, and Shantung the Japanese would everywhere meet with stubborn resistance from our troops?

If we seek the reason for this, it is to be found in the fact that all the people—men and women, old and young—have been deeply influenced by the Three Principles of the People, and by our new national consciousness, so that everyone is willing to undergo suffering and hardship, and to fulfill his duties to the uttermost, in order to win life out of death. Another reason is the warm sympathy and help of friendly nations—both governments and private citizens—which has found practical expression in frequent denunciations of Japanese aggression, in boycott of Japanese goods, in refusal to transport Japanese merchandise, and in denial of business facilities and credits to Japanese industrialists. The vigorous demonstrations and other activities of the world-wide Anti-Aggression Movement shows the deep disgust and resentment of the members of this organization. In all these ways, by moral sanctions and by material restrictions, Japan has been made to feel the pinch. Fierce and barbarous as she is, Japan has in a moment, in the

twinkling of an eye, been brought to realize that her guilt can no longer be concealed. As for the comfort and help sent to the people of China in the form of medical supplies and material assistance, we are more than grateful, and cannot express our thanks too often.

At the present juncture when their troops are exhausted, and they have "drained the pond to catch the fish," the Japanese are sure to resort to more violent measures. But China has from the beginning been prepared to face any sacrifice that is necessary, and to persevere in the struggle without flinching or wavering. At the same time, we cannot but sincerely hope that all the friendly nations will, in accordance with the warm sympathy expressed in the past, take effective measures to stop this enemy of humanity, so that justice and peace may be established throughout the world. We eagerly expect that the friendly Powers who signed the League Covenant, the Paris Pact, and the Nine Power Treaty, will carry out their treaty obligations. The League of Nations has repeatedly passed resolutions urging each state separately to give all possible aid to China. I am sure that each of the friendly nations will honestly carry out its treaty responsibilities, and put into effect the League's resolutions, so that a stop may be put to Japanese aggression.

Right will ultimately be victorious; this is my own unshakable faith, and it is the faith of our whole nation. The recent convocation of the People's Political Council, the putting into effect of compulsory military service, and the rapid progress in internal reconstruction, all prove the unity of the Chinese people, and the progress that has been and is being made toward a modern democratic state. Our powers of resistance have been correspondingly increased.

In the future our people and our soldiers will be even more determined to press on boldly against the foe. We shall never change our policy of resistance until the invading Japanese troops have been completely withdrawn, and until China's territorial and administrative integrity have been fully restored. Our people are deeply conscious of the great responsibility that is theirs, not only to their own nation, but to the world. In this fight with a cruel enemy, the one who is loyal never looks back. I say categorically that until international righteousness has been established, and the

sanctity of treaties is respected, China will not cease fighting. Look at all the outrageous and inhuman brutalities inflicted by the Japanese on our people. So far from terrifying them or forcing them to submit, these brutalities have only increased the determination of our people to resist. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that China's powers of resistance are inexhaustible.

Friendly nations and opponents of aggression: Peace is indivisible, isolation is impossible. So long as Japan's aggression is not checked, so long will it be impossible to have peace in the Far East, or in the world at large. The maintenance of international justice and the sanctity of treaties, the preservation of the happiness of mankind and of its cultural heritage, are the common responsibility of all human beings. I am quite sure that all our good friends of the friendly nations and all opponents of aggression are fully aware of this common responsibility, and that they also know what are the best ways to unite our efforts for the attainment of our common goal. On my part, I will continue to lead my four hundred and fifty million fellow-countrymen forward in the fight against aggression, so that we may all together reach our objective. I have taken the opportunity of this anniversary to share with you some of my thoughts. I ask you to give serious consideration to what I have said.

An Appeal to Japan

A revised press report summarizing Generalissimo Chiang's message to the people of Japan, on the first anniversary of the Sino-Japanese War, July 7, 1938.

JULY 7, 1938.

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG began by reminding the Japanese of their ethnological affinity and early cultural relations with the Chinese people. The Japanese had studied Chinese philosophy, literature, religion, arts, and industries as early as the Sui and Tang dynasties (sixth and seventh centuries A.D.). The Chinese had been taught by their sages to love peace and to regard all peoples as their kinfolk. Hence the saying, "Within the four seas all are brothers." Now with modern means of communication there should be even closer cultural relations between China and Japan.

But unfortunately, Generalissimo Chiang said, the Japanese military leaders had returned evil for good. China had exercised the utmost patience, hoping that the Japanese militarists would awaken to their folly and would turn around to work with China for peace in East Asia. The Chinese people had no wish to plunge the two nations into an abyss of suffering and calamity.

For the benefit of the Japanese people, Generalissimo Chiang briefly reviewed Japan's acts of aggression against China, beginning with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the undeclared war in Shanghai in 1932, and leading up to the Lukouchiao incident on July 7, 1937, and the Shanghai hostilities which started on August 13, 1937.

In the face of this relentless aggression and with their forbearance strained to the limit, the Chinese people had no course left but to accept Japan's challenge. They were only discharging their sacred duty, for although the Chinese loved peace, they loved even more their ancient land and civilization, the burial ground of their ancestors and the country of their own homes and farms and cities.

"Before the war broke out," said the Generalissimo, "I pointed out repeatedly the gravity of the situation, hoping that enlightened people both within and outside your government would realize the danger ahead and would consider seriously what should be done to avert it. Unfortunately your militarists refused to see the crisis to which their mistaken schemes would lead. In spite of international justice and law, and totally disregarding the welfare of your nation and the material wealth stored up through your toil, they precipitated the most ferocious war in the history of East Asia. I consider this a great tragedy."

Generalissimo Chiang then reminded the Japanese people of the declarations of their military leaders: First, that they could force China to surrender without war, and then, after fighting began, that they could achieve victory within two or three months. Now, however, they were asking the Japanese people to prepare for long-drawn-out hostilities. As they confronted new and mounting difficulties they were forced to change their formulas for deceiving the public. "Think how many of your brothers, sons, and nephews have become ghosts of the dead upon the continent; how many of your young women have become widows; how many of your children have become orphans. What benefit are you receiving from this war? It has been seven years since your army seized Manchuria, yet its possession has earned you nothing but heavier taxes for war expenditures. Do you know that since the beginning of this war your losses in men, money, and munitions have already vastly exceeded your losses in the Russo-Japanese War, and that your losses in spiritual and moral values have been even greater? Do you realize that your expeditionary army has become the most barbarous and cruel force of destruction in all the world?"

Generalissimo Chiang declared that nothing was left today of the spirit of "Yamato" and "Bushido" of which the Japanese used to boast. By using poisonous gas and by selling narcotics to the people, the Japanese invading troops had violated all principles of righteousness and international law.

In the occupied areas, the actions of the Japanese troops had been particularly inhuman, the Generalissimo stated. They had raped, burned and pillaged, and had massacred Chinese soldiers and civilians who could not evacuate in time. They had even held

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contests to see who could kill the largest number of Chinese. Everywhere they went they had joined with ruffians and bandits to set up puppet regimes. They had stopped at nothing in trying to destroy China's social organization and traditional culture.

Furthermore, Japanese airplanes had bombed large numbers of defenseless cities and towns, even in areas far away from the scene of hostilities. There was no way of telling how many Chinese civilians had thus been murdered and how much property had been destroyed. Again and again the Japanese air force had deliberately aimed at Chinese educational, cultural, and philanthropic institutions. In Canton, thousands of Chinese civilians had been killed by Japanese bombs, and hundreds of buildings, including the National Sun Yat-sen University, had been reduced to ruins. Even the world-wide condemnation which these ruthless attacks aroused had not stayed the hands of the Japanese murderers.

"You should know," said the Generalissimo, "that Chinese planes have also visited your cities. What did they present you with? Messages of friendship and sympathy, not merciless bombs! Suppose that Chinese planes should take the same amount of bombs that your planes have released upon Canton and drop them on cities like Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe and on some of your large universities. I assure you that it is only the humanity of the Chinese Air Force that restrains them from such retaliation."

Particularly shocking had been the atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers against Chinese women, declared the Generalissimo. Girls as young as ten and women over sixty had been violated. Mothers, daughters, and sisters-in-law had been stripped naked and criminally attacked before a torturer cut off their breasts or plunged his sword deep into their bodies. An army capable of committing such atrocities was not only a disgrace to Japan but also an object of disgust to all humanity.

These outrages against all principles of morality had so thoroughly aroused the Chinese people that thousands upon thousands of them, including women, had arisen against their assailants. Although they were often armed with farm and kitchen implements only, yet they swore vengeance on behalf of their kinsfolk. To date, the Generalissimo stated, the Japanese army had lost in China more than five hundred thousand men. Many of these had died igno-

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minious deaths at the hands of young girls and aged women.

However, right-minded men had not been totally lacking in the Japanese army. Many Japanese soldiers, stirred by the brutalities of their comrades, had killed each other or committed suicide rather than be forced to take part in such barbaric warfare. In their pockets were often found letters containing "death counsel" to the Japanese militarists.

"The Japanese people cannot be held responsible for all these things," said Generalissimo Chiang, "but they should lose no time in denouncing their militarists and in curbing Japanese aggression in China. Unless the Japanese people rise up and stop the madness of their military leaders, there will be no end to the present bloodshed which, with animosity deepening every day, might last decades and even centuries.

"Before it is too late, you should force your militarists to examine their policy of aggression in China. Ask them what their objective is. Ask them how much Japan has gained and how much she has lost since the war began. Ask them if the war can result in the conquest of China or in the stabilization of East Asia. Can Japan banish the white people out of Asia and become herself the mistress of the Pacific? And who are the ones making all the sacrifices?" If the people of Japan could make their warlords change their policy, thus restoring peace and friendly relations between China and Japan, they would be saving not only their own country and themselves, but also their husbands, sons, and brothers who now face a dire fate upon the continent.

In taking up arms against the Japanese militarists the Chinese naturally aim at self-preservation, but they are also helping to save the people of Japan. China has again and again successfully resisted foreign foes in spite of tremendous difficulties and hardships. Today China is nationally conscious as never before, and her will to oppose invasion is stronger than it has ever been in Chinese history.

"China will, therefore, fight on until the Japanese militarists cease their aggression. The tragic mutual destruction of our two nations will continue until your militarists are brought to their senses. The duty of stopping this terrible bloodshed rests upon your shoulders."

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Our Successes

A summary of a message to Chinese in occupied areas on the first anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities at Shanghai, August 13, 1938.

AUGUST 13, 1938.

SINCE September 18, 1931, the Japanese invaders have overrun more than two hundred thousand square kilometers of Chinese territory and have brought suffering and misery to more than one hundred and fifty million of our fellow-countrymen. The brutalities which they have inflicted upon the people of China are far worse than anything that occurred at the downfall of the Sung or Ming dynasties. In fact, by their wanton bombing, slaughter, vandalism, looting, and violation of women, the Japanese have broken the terrible records of the Dark Ages. Moreover, Japan's policies of drug poisoning, enslavement, conscription of Chinese to fight Chinese, and kidnaping of little children to be brought up in Japan show clearly that our enemy is bent upon the destruction of our country and the extermination of our race.

Cultural and educational institutions in the occupied areas have been subjected to persecution and oppression. Text books prepared by the puppet governments are being introduced everywhere. Even our language is being altered. False propaganda is widespread. False notes and loan bonds have been widely issued, and in many places subscription to the bonds is compulsory. The enemy is trying to suck the life blood of our people.

Most deadly is Japan's policy with narcotics. In some areas the number of registered addicts exceeds the total population! In North China the Japanese are not only importing opium but are also manufacturing large quantities of heroin, morphine, and various narcotic powders and pills. In the Japanese concession at Tientsin alone can be found thousands of shops dealing in poisonous drugs. More than two hundred Japanese factories with more than ten thousand workers are turning out narcotics day and night, and are

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shipping them all over occupied China. Can we find such a venomous foreign policy anywhere else in history? Unless we rise up to defend our country and resist the enemy, our people will be ruined and our nation doomed.

But I have a word of good cheer for you: Our resistance will succeed! The enemy is choking on the Chinese territory he has tried to swallow. Japanese troops have seized a few strategic points and a few main lines of communication, but they dare not and cannot advance into the interior. In spite of their killing, burning, looting, and raping, they have failed to subjugate our people. They have used many men and much equipment, but they have gained little more than tracts of scorched earth and the deep hatred of all peace-loving peoples in the world.

On this anniversary of the Shanghai hostilities, I want to assure all of you who are living under Japanese rule that victory is ours! Up to the present we have gained signal successes in at least four ways. First, we have been strategically successful. The enemy aimed at a quick and decisive end of hostilities, whereas our strategy has been to prolong the hostilities so as to exhaust the enemy's strength. The deeper the enemy penetrates into the hinterland, the more determined we are to defend ourselves. Japanese losses are steadily increasing, while our power of resistance grows stronger every day. Strategically, the enemy has failed.

In the second place, we have been politically successful. The Japanese, in their attempt to subjugate us, have relied not only upon force, but also upon the policy of turning our own people against us. This scheme has also failed, as even neutrals testify. Since the beginning of our armed resistance we have become more united than at any time before in Chinese history. It is true that the Japanese have bought over a few corrupt and shameless degenerates to set up puppet regimes, but this has only angered the Chinese people and further unified them.

Thirdly, we have achieved a spiritual victory over the enemy, a victory of principles—the Three Principles of the People. Observers all over the world have marveled at our courage and determination. As we have fought, our fear of the enemy has disappeared. Not only is there now no fear of the Japanese; there is also a strong conviction that they can be defeated. Sufferings and

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trials have not affected our resolution to resist. There is a spiritual awakening among our people. They believe that China is moving toward a definite goal and that the future is bright. Their courage and hope have been reinforced by a year of armed struggle. The enemy, on the contrary, is far less boastful now of his ability to conquer the world, and has learned to regard us with respect. In the enemy ranks, war-weariness and anti-war feeling is growing. We have scored a definite spiritual success.

Fourthly, we have won successes on the diplomatic front. We have been fighting not only for ourselves, but also for world peace and justice; our war has strengthened the cause of international peace. Since all peace-loving nations have shown the fullest sympathy for China, our international status has risen, and that of Japan has dropped. In fact, Japan has lost her prestige as a first-class power. Having failed to gain a quick and decisive victory in China, Japan has now chosen to provoke other peace-loving countries. By this policy she is further isolating herself. Prolonged resistance is thus bringing us victories in the diplomatic field.

Although the four Northeastern Provinces have been overrun by Japan for seven years, and the suffering of our thirty million compatriots there has become more and more intense, yet we know that the spirit of resistance is still alive. Many have organized and armed themselves for self-protection and for disrupting enemy lines of communication. The reports of their brave deeds stir us to profound admiration and gratitude. Fellow-countrymen in the Northeast: I promise you that you shall be emancipated, and that you shall see the light of a new day.

Although many of our northern provinces have fallen during the past year, yet the enemy forces have been able to hold only a few cities and lines of communication. They cannot exercise control over the vast hinterland and over the masses of people. This is the result of continuous resistance on the part of our soldiers and civilians. The people of North China have been noted for their courage in adversity, and for other great traditional virtues of the Chinese race. I hope that you will continue to strike at the enemy's rear and turn it into a war zone. We are deeply concerned over your oppression and sufferings, and we think of you in your valiant struggle.

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Today is the anniversary of the Japanese attack which precipitated hostilities in the Shanghai area. I remember, today especially, our people in the war zones and occupied areas. I know that in the lower Yangtze valley large numbers of fearless patriots have organized mobile units and are harassing the enemy's rear, threatening the lives of shameless traitors, and fighting the invaders everywhere they can. On July 7th of this year, the first anniversary of the war, Chinese flags were flown inside the foreign settlements of Shanghai, showing that the revolutionary spirit of our people is still alive. I wish you to know that your bitter struggle against the enemy, your refusal to yield, your non-co-operation with the puppets, and your many manifestations of loyalty to the government and nation will not be forgotten. Fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas: We are thinking about you—the humiliation to which you are subjected, the distress you are made to suffer. The enemy is trying to force you to submit, but I hope you will maintain your brave stand. Better to struggle for life with honor at any sacrifice rather than to submit and suffer an ignominious death. Reject the education intended for slaves; combat the enemy's nefarious designs; refuse to use puppet money, to buy puppet bonds, or to accept puppet orders.

It is especially important that our compatriots in the North-eastern Provinces make clear their stand. I know that there are many who are utterly loyal and would fire into the air rather than at their fellow-citizens, even when forced by the enemy to take up arms. But a negative attitude is not sufficient. If you have been given arms, use them to attack the enemy, and give your lives, if need be, for your country. Die an honorable death combating the enemy. But resistance does not necessarily mean death; on the contrary, it is the only path to life. Hear the call of your fatherland: Live and die a good descendant of Hwang Ti, a good citizen of the Republic of China!

The object of this war is not only to drive out the Japanese invaders, but at the same time to carry on national reconstruction and to realize the goal of the Three Principles—an independent, free, and prosperous China. We may thereby become the pillar of world peace. The task we are now undertaking is the greatest in the history of our country. Soldiers at the front, government

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officials and people in the rear, and our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas must all discharge their full obligations to the nation. We are all one great family. For the present you in occupied territories have lost your homestead. For the moment you do not enjoy the protection and care of the national government and armies, but you will not be forsaken. One day you will return to your family fold to live in peace and joy with your brothers and sisters. When that happens, China will be a great and independent nation. Therefore you must struggle on.

In these thirteen months we have gained strategic, political, spiritual, and diplomatic successes. We shall grow stronger, while the enemy will become weaker and weaker. When the war began we hoped to show the world the danger from Japan, and also to expose her weaknesses. The weaknesses are apparent. The decline in Japan's foreign trade, the shipment of large amounts of gold abroad, the stagnation of light industries, the increase in unemployment, the growing consternation among the people—these are all symptoms of economic and social decline which can no longer be concealed. Not only are the Japanese on their way to military defeat, but they are also becoming spiritually bankrupt. The ultimate collapse of Japan is predetermined, while we have fulfilled the important conditions of final victory. If to our other achievements we could add a great military triumph, then Japan's debacle would be immediate and complete.

A military victory is within our grasp. The enemy is advancing up the Yangtze River with the plan of seizing Wuhan.* By so doing they are moving into a trap, for we are bound to inflict severe punishment upon them from both banks of the river. If our people at the front, behind the lines, in the occupied areas should now stand together and fight as one man, victory would soon be ours. You are concerned about the defense of Wuhan. I can assure you that the three cities will be defended with all our strength. I believe that we can frustrate the enemy's plans. The more reinforcements the Japanese send, the heavier will be their casualties. You will see evidence of this in the near future.

Japan's tactics betray the arrogance and stupidity of the Japanese militarists. Their recklessness finds no parallel in mili-

*Wuchang, Hankow, and Hanyang.

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tary history, and their failure will be equally without parallel. They are gambling with the lives of their soldiers and civilians, and dooming their own people to destruction upon the continent. The Yangtze campaign will show the Japanese people the crimes of their militarists, and will intensify hatred of and opposition to the military party. We are confident that the enemy cannot attain his objective of conquering China, for we shall resist him to the last man. Let all our soldiers and people work closely together and participate fully in the struggle for freedom. Our bitterest battles will signalize the beginning of final victory.

Fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas: You are making precious sacrifices for the liberation of our race and nation. Your suffering is part of the price that must be paid for a free China. Today your bitterness is my bitterness. If your pain and suffering are not removed, the responsibility lies upon me.

Revolutionary Education

An address to the first graduating class of the Central Political Training Institute, Hankow, August 28, 1938. The Institute, founded in 1938 at Hankow and soon afterward moved to Chungking, has during the war given short-term military and political training courses to large numbers of government officials and employees, educators, bankers, and social leaders from all the provinces. Generalissimo Chiang is the Director of the Institute.

AUGUST 28, 1938.

YOU who have been in training during this first training period are all school principals and teachers who have been carrying heavy educational responsibilities in the middle schools of Hunan Province. Here you yourselves have had to submit to a strict educational regime that demands of all the most strenuous and unremitting efforts, and yet you have completed successfully the requirements for graduation. As Director of the Institute I congratulate you upon your determination and perseverance. I am both consoled and cheered by your fine spirit.

The training which you have undergone is especially significant at a time like this—when a powerful enemy is pressing upon our soil and war is raging fiercely around us. You principals and teachers represent every *hsien* (county) of Hunan. We expect you, after your strict military training and soldier life here, to carry both the knowledge and spirit that you have acquired into your educational work at home. We believe that you will not only build strong foundations for education in Hunan Province, but that you will make the educational system of that province a model for all China.

On this farewell occasion I have a few important things to say to you, by way of exhortation and encouragement. But before I speak on the special subject for today I wish to read to you the

Twelve Maxims of the Kuomintang Code.* (The audience here rose and repeated each maxim after the Generalissimo.)

If we are to carry out a revolutionary and constructive program of education we must believe in and practice the fundamental principles embodied in this Code. I shall explain today what this means.

First, let me remind you that education must have a purpose. You are educators, and you will ask me what I think education should teach. In other words, what are the essential things that a student should learn? What kind of persons should our students become, and what kind of work should they undertake? Before we teach, we must have an educational objective or direction. Without an educational policy our teaching will be aimless and our students will have no definite objective in their life and work. Blind education is a menace to the people and to the nation. We have heard much during the past few decades in China about "new education." Superficially, this "new education" seems to have everything in theory and method that we need; actually, it is only a blind imitator, gaudily decorated on the outside but an empty shell within, and entirely lacking in decency and order. It is education without plan and purpose, and most of its student products do not know how to be real men and women, nor do they have any desire to be real men and women. Still less do they have any real philosophy of life. Many of them are not able to do anything worth while; they live in the world, but they are utterly useless to society, to the nation, and to themselves. As a result, we must now be exposed to the unbounded greed of our enemies and have all these terrible indignities heaped upon us.

Frankly, the education of the past twenty-seven years has for

**The Kuomintang Code:*

1. Loyalty and courage are the basis of patriotism.
2. Filial devotion is the basis of a well-ordered family.
3. Good will and charity are the basis of harmonious relationships.
4. Trustworthiness and uprightness are the basis of a successful career.
5. Peaceableness is the basis of getting on with the world.
6. Courtesy and self-control are the basis of good administration.
7. Obedience is the basis of bearing responsibility.
8. Diligence and thrift are the basis of service.
9. Orderliness and cleanliness are the basis of physical health.
10. Helpfulness is the basis of happiness.
11. Knowledge is the basis of helping the world.
12. Persistence is the basis of achievement.

the most part been stupid and senseless, leading our nation almost to the brink of destruction and our race almost to extinction. Aimless education has nearly ruined us! If we have to save our country and restore our nation we must first get rid of the harmful education that we have had, and then build up a constructive wartime educational plan. Education must enable us to achieve our objectives of national defense and reconstruction, if it is really to meet the needs of the Republic in these critical times. The Institute has summoned you principals and teachers for training, with the hope that when you finish your course and return to your homes you will all promote a revolutionary new type of education. The students who come out of our schools from now on must be able to take their part in the building of new China and in the revival of our national life and spirit. This is the direction that our education must take; this is the road that we must follow. This is the common goal toward which you principals and teachers must strive; this is your supreme responsibility.

What kind of persons should we turn out from our schools if we want to restore our racial spirit and rebuild our national life? In a word, I should say that we ought to turn out young men and women who are real Chinese. You will probably be surprised at this statement. Have not the students who have been taught in recent years been Chinese? What must they do, you say, to become real Chinese? In the past many students have been Chinese only in name; if you examined their thinking and spirit you found no real Chinese characteristics. We must sadly admit that some appeared to have no definite nationality. Such persons possessed no understanding of Chinese history and culture and no appreciation of China's important place in the world. They showed no respect for China's ancient morality nor for the national spirit which is essential to building the new China. Still less did they recognize their responsibility as citizens to their country or their duty to love and cherish their own inherited culture. Whatever came from abroad they blindly accepted; whatever was Chinese they threw away at will without a pang of regret. They imitated everything foreign, but without critical judgment; consequently their knowledge was only skin deep and their understanding was shallow and superficial. They utterly lacked the spirit which the people of an inde-

pendent country should have, and became denationalized to such a degree that their national consciousness and patriotic effort could not be aroused even by a serious national crisis. In what way are they different from those shameless traitors who think only of their own selfish interests and do not hesitate to sell their country and people? Are such people worthy any longer of the name Chinese?

Remember that we Chinese have high moral standards bequeathed to us by our forefathers through long generations. Remember that we Chinese have national qualities and a national character—steady, independent, fearless. We, the Chinese people, have a certain racial and national spirit that pervades our whole life. To be a real Chinese you must display the moral qualities and spirit which have through history been characteristic of our race. In other words, China should be the life and soul of every real Chinese. Our “national soul” is made up of all our history and culture, our habits and customs, our ethical ideas and ideals, and all the material and spiritual achievements of our creative genius during five thousand years. The true Chinese, the true child of China’s racial culture, makes the soul of China his own soul, the life of China his own life. If, however, one calls himself Chinese, but his thoughts, his spirit, his feelings, his character, are none of them Chinese—then no matter what a mixture of imported ideas may fill his brain, he is not a genuine Chinese; he is neither Chinese nor western; in fact, it is difficult to say of what race he has become the spiritual slave. This kind of a citizen does only harm to the State.

The traitors in the puppet government all received the so-called “new education”; most of them received higher education. And yet they willingly surrendered to the enemy, and called themselves “your humble servant,”* thus becoming “running dogs” of foreigners. The guilt of producing such traitors rests upon our former educational system. Let our educators today ponder upon this disturbing fact. On the one hand let us do away with the kind of education that breeds traitors, slaves, and bloodless, conscienceless citizens. On the other hand let us develop an education that will make the life and soul of China the life and soul of every Chinese student, and the ancient moral spirit of China the essential

**Nu-ts'ai*, a term literally translated “your slave,” used by Manchu statesmen and Chinese high military officials when they addressed the Manchu emperor.

character of every Chinese citizen. Moreover, we must teach every student that he has certain sacred and inalienable rights to self-respect and independence, and that he should demonstrate in his own life and work the splendid, God-given qualities of the Chinese race, as well as the use of modern scientific knowledge and skills. Then our students will be real Chinese, taking their part loyally, bravely, and enthusiastically in the work of the nation and in the building of a free and independent Republic of China. The education of the future must produce students and citizens who think, feel, and act as true, worthy Chinese. Such Chinese, we believe, will be absolutely loyal and will give their best to China; they will strengthen their country's independence, they will spread the spirit of Chinese culture, and they will make China's future even more glorious than her past.

How shall we begin such education? As the Kuomintang Code says, we must lay the foundation well, of patriotism, orderly family life, harmonious relationships, successful vocation and good administration, responsible work, physical health and service to the world, and successful achievement. We must infuse Chinese thought, Chinese ethical ideals, Chinese spirit—the soul of China itself—into all our fundamental moral training, and make these things a part of the very life of our students. If we want our students to be patriotic, to labor and toil, to struggle and sacrifice for their country, we must instill loyalty and courage into them. If we want our students to have well-ordered happy families that can transmit unstained the best heritage of the past and be a worthy link between the generations before and the generations to come, we must teach filial devotion and obedience. If we want our students to get on well with other people, without being rude and reckless, we must teach good will and charity. If we want them to have successful careers and to be men of upright and consistent character, we must teach them to be upright and trustworthy. If we want them to live happily in the world, we must teach them to be peaceable in their relations with people: a peaceable and harmonious spirit is an indispensable element of strong character. If we want our students to manage affairs well, we must teach them to be courteous and self-controlled and to know the importance of good organization and discipline. If we want them to carry responsibility,

we must teach them to obey regulations and to complete their duties. Many schools today fail to teach their students the meaning of responsibility and obedience to orders; as a result, the students give themselves to all kinds of empty frivolity and wild license without any true desire to serve their friends, their fellow-countrymen, or their nation. If we want to reform this unwholesome school spirit we must begin by teaching the students responsibility and obedience. What I mean by obedience is not just obedience to one particular person; it is obedience, rather, to duty and to the demands of our work. To be faithful to our tasks and the obligations which they impose upon us, to be faithful to ourselves and obey the commands of our own consciences—this is true obedience. The ancients said, "He who loves and respects himself will be loved and respected by others," and also, "He who honors others will be honored by them." Honor and respect here imply obedience. Conversely, if a man does not respect himself but wastes his energy in all kinds of extravagant living, he will not be able to do his duty or to observe discipline, and he will not learn the meaning of obedience. One who does not know how to obey, how to observe discipline, how to do his duty, how to be loyal to his task—such a man deserves general contempt. The ancients said, "A man must first despise himself, and then others will despise him. A kingdom must first smite itself, and then others will smite it." One who has not learned the meaning of obedience not only invites contempt upon himself, but also destruction upon his country.

If we want to develop a spirit of service in our students, we must teach them diligence and economy. If we want them to become physically strong, we must teach them to be orderly and clean. If we want them to know the real meaning of happiness, we must teach them how to help the world and save their fellow-men. If we would teach them how to succeed, we must first teach them to persevere. I do not know any road to real achievement except steady perseverance.

The essential virtues for personal character and for family and national life are all embodied in this Kuomintang Code. We may also call the Code a creed for educators and a curriculum for character education. From now on you should use this Code to teach your students how to be true, perfect Chinese citizens, and

how to save their country. Then you will be worthy of the name of Chinese teachers, and you will be fulfilling your great responsibility to your nation. If our revolution is to succeed and our nation is to be rebuilt, you principals and teachers must take seriously your task of training youth, especially at a critical time like this when we are trying to drive invaders from our land.

Take a lesson from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Historians agree that one of the main reasons for Germany's victory in that war was the work of the elementary school teachers who day in and day out had taught their pupils to love and be loyal to their country. Similarly, Japan was able to defeat Russia in 1905 because her primary and middle school teachers had earnestly and unceasingly taught patriotism to their pupils. The evidence is just as strong that our nation has been attacked, wounded, oppressed, disgraced, because our school principals and teachers failed to teach patriotism to their pupils. Our suffering today is due to the sins of our educators yesterday. You must awake and repent, you must accept the blame for the mistakes that were made before, and you must wipe out the shame that the former system of education brought upon our country. Take this Code as the basis of all your teaching. Whatever courses each one teaches, you all have a joint responsibility for the character training and discipline of your students. Let this be the Code of your personal life and the Code of your teaching program; set a good example to your students and perform your duty well as teachers.

I hope that you will give especial attention to what I said about these twelve maxims being an important curriculum of character education. As you know, the chief aim to education is to change man's inner attitudes and purposes, to strengthen the spirit of the people, and to reform the temper of society. We must change the minds and hearts of men and build up the morale of the nation before education can be fully effective. To teach students knowledge and skills is not enough; we must help them to use their knowledge and skills for the good of their country and of their fellow-men. To teach personal culture is not enough; we must help our students become true, modern Chinese citizens through and through. If education is to realize these aims it must have a basic, unified course of training that will develop a consistent spirit in the whole body,

and become the center of all our teaching. This is why we want the Kuomintang Code to be the basis of our education. Otherwise, we cannot hope to reconstruct individuals or society, nor can we develop a new national spirit. All our education will then fail, and the outlook for our country and society will forever be hopeless.

The Foreword to the Kuomintang Code says, "A nation is composed of individual persons, and persons are but instruments of mind. Order in a nation depends upon moral standards in society, and the moral standards of society depend upon the principles in men's minds." The most vital problem in Chinese education is how to reconstruct the minds, the thinking, of the people; and the most vital task of teachers is awakening and inspiring the minds of their pupils. Why has this unprecedented calamity come upon our nation? Why do many of our people lack unity and organization? Why are they indifferent to the national danger? The chief reason is mental and spiritual decay which goes back to the lack of unified policy and purpose in our former educational system. Some say that education should now pay more attention to the improvement of the human stock. It will be enough in China to revive the ancient strong qualities of our race. The Chinese race has always been a highly distinguished race. What we need is not improvement of our racial stock, but rather reforms in our methods of education. Poor educational principles and methods have caused a deterioration in society and a decline in the mental and spiritual quality of our people. Many now are on the down grade; some have become almost non-human in their behavior. Such persons can be saved only by a reformed education that will restore to their former position and influence the great ethical teachings and habits of our race. We must elevate the old moral principles of Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Kindness, Love, Faith, Justice, Harmony, and Peace, and practice again the instructions of our sages regarding Personal Culture, Well-ordered Family Life, Good Government, and World Peace. Then the splendid innate qualities of the Chinese race will shine forth. We must be willing to reform, if we want equality with other races; however, all we need to do is to recover the ancient character of our race, and we shall be equal to, nay, even superior to other races. The way to independence and equality is the revival of our old morality, and this revival must begin in our educational program

with the inculcation of these twelve great principles. As the Foreword to the Code says, "Let fathers teach them to their sons, let teachers convey them to their pupils, let officials preach them to their subordinates, and officers make them known to their soldiers. Then all the people will have a common faith and will be able to act in unison." Only if we believe in and practice the fundamental moral teachings of the Code can we truly realize the Three Principles of the People and attain the final objective of our education. Then we shall have stalwart and heroic citizens, and we shall be able to build a strong, prosperous, and happy China. Then the Three Principles will be practiced throughout China and will extend their influence over the world.

What shall we teach our students? Teach them to observe this Code, teach them to practice the Three Principles, teach them to follow the Great Way pointed out by our ancient sages, teach them to work for the revolution and for the salvation of the world, the nation, and themselves in accordance with China's great moral heritage. What kind of persons do we want our students to become? Men and women who can stand foursquare to all the winds that blow. What kind of work do we want them to do? Revolutionary work that will make China the strongest and most prosperous country in the world. This is *San Min Chu I* education, this is revolutionary education!

You have come to realize, I am sure, that from now on we must place our major emphasis upon developing a strong national and racial consciousness and a keen sense of social responsibility. In other words we must make love of country central in our education and teach our students to be truly patriotic in their thinking and spirit. Geography and history are most important subjects of study. History records the great exploits of our illustrious forefathers and the growth of our racial and national culture. Geography tells about China's place in the world and describes where and how the people of China live. If we want our nation to survive and to grow we must know whence its life comes and what its present condition is. What a long and glorious history our forefathers have created and passed on to us! What excellent moral qualities have inhered in our ancient culture! Think what a

splendid civilization China once possessed and what a great place she held in the world; think what rich material resources lie hidden beneath our soil and what a large and fine population lives upon the soil; think of all that our ancestors have bequeathed to us! If we study history then we shall learn the lessons of history and pass on the spirit of our ancestors who built our nation out of toil and travail. If we study geography, then we shall learn to love and cherish our fatherland; we shall want to preserve intact the hills and rivers that embroider our landscape. The study of history and geography will also help our students to appreciate more deeply the ancient virtues of China and to become more intelligently and passionately patriotic, so that they will be eager and ready to save their country and the world. Their self-confidence will be strengthened; because of them the revolution will grow in power; and they will be able to save the nation from its perils.

History and geography must be given a central place in the wartime curriculum of our schools. We should prepare better textbooks and teaching materials that will give our students a greater understanding and appreciation of China's past, present, and future. Our schools have stressed foreign languages and sciences, but have neglected history and geography; or, as they have taught them, the emphasis has been more upon world geography and the geography of other nations than upon Chinese geography. In the teaching of literature, music and other subjects we have not used enough Chinese historical material. This has been a serious mistake. Most of our students have only a smattering knowledge of the history and life of our own country. Some seemed to have forgotten entirely China's past and the heritage that has come down to them from their ancestors. How can such persons love their country? The enemy's ferocious attack upon us and the dangerous crisis which we now face are due in large measure to the failures of our former education. It is an old saying, "In listing rules of conduct, we must not forget our ancestors (from whom they all emanated)." If our people do not know the glory of China's past, how can they feel the shame of the present situation? If they do not know their own country, how can they resolve to recover the territory the country has lost? Let us not repeat the mistakes of yesterday, but let us by good teaching of Chinese history and geography inspire

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great patriotism among our people and open the door to a shining new life for our nation.

As you return now to your schools, after these weeks of exacting discipline and training, I hope that you will all remember and put into practice what I have said today. Do your best, work hard and sacrifice yourselves to the limit, set a noble example to your students, and help them all to become worthy citizens of China. The responsibility for making our wartime education a success and for carrying to completion our work of revolution and reconstruction rests upon your shoulders. I have unbounded hope in you.

To the People of Manchuria

*A message to the Chinese people in the Northeast
(Manchuria) on the seventh anniversary of the
Mukden Incident (September 18, 1931).*

SEPTEMBER 18, 1938.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN IN THE NORTHEAST:

IT IS now seven years since the Japanese started their armed invasion of our Northeastern Provinces. On this anniversary of our national humiliation and grief, what patriotic Chinese does not remember how seven years ago we lost those four provinces—provinces with a total area of 400,000 square miles? There is not one of us who has not solemnly sworn, on behalf of our race and especially our thirty million compatriots in the Northeast, to avenge this unprecedented wrong. There is not one of us who does not constantly bear in mind your life of suffering and slavery under the cruel oppression of the enemy. Least of all have I, your Commander-in-Chief, for one minute forgotten you my fellow-countrymen in the Northeast; not for a moment have I forgotten your suffering or ceased to think of your future.

During these past seven years, and especially since the beginning of armed resistance by our whole nation, our soldiers and people have sacrificed without stint, and have endured unparalleled pain. Why? Has it not been for the sake of the Northeastern Provinces and their people? Has it not been to secure the independence and freedom of China and to recover our lost territory? Has it not been for the salvation of our compatriots in the Northeast? During this period I myself have borne insults and indignities and have endured suffering without complaint, all in order to save you, our fellow-countrymen in Manchuria.

Our armed resistance has now lasted for a year and two months. The area of the conflict has been enlarged until it covers ten provinces. The enemy has mobilized a fighting force of more than one million men. The invaders have now reached Poyang Lake

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(in Kiangsi Province), but they find themselves sinking deeper and deeper into a morass. They are in a dilemma: to advance or to retreat—both are equally difficult. They show increasing signs of exhaustion, and like a gambler staking all on one lucky throw, are desperately trying to make some lucky move, in the fond hope that it will bring them success.

This is the critical moment when we must use all our strength to preserve our existence. We can almost count the days until our fellow-countrymen in the Northeast are brought out of the darkness of oppression into the light of a new day. There is little point in commemorating this seventh anniversary with mere words or articles, and there is little time to recapitulate all the terrible suffering of the past. What we need is deeds—heroic deeds: we need to destroy the enemy and protect our country. Deeds will be the best commemoration of this sad day. Today there is only one road open to us; namely, complete self-sacrifice for the protection of our country, and the full use of all our resources to erase our humiliation and take vengeance on our foe. Since our soldiers and people have already risen as one man, you thirty million fellow-countrymen ought to take even more active and courageous steps, and fight to death in order to secure a glorious future for the State, the nation, and yourselves.

Fellow-countrymen of the Northeast: The heroic resistance you have put up against the enemy is well-known to me and to the whole country. You have been able, despite the enemy's strictest precautions, to burn his arsenals, destroy his airfields, oil reserves and other important supply depots, disrupt his communications, and obstruct the movements of his troops. All these achievements of yours have furthered our resistance very materially, and have greatly cheered our soldiers at the front, and in fact, the whole nation. You can rejoice over this.

But these achievements are not sufficient. Merely to organize and arm a portion of the populace will not deal the enemy a fatal blow. I hope you will go still further—enlarge the scope of your movement and increase the number of your troops. You should keep every family informed and give each other constant encouragement, either in secret or openly. You should all unite—men and women, old and young—in one body, and stay united. You should

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make use of every possible means to oppose the enemy: kill him, injure him, or harass him so that he has not a moment's peace. You should emulate the large-scale resistance movement of our people in Hopei and Jehol, which has not allowed the enemy any respite from morning till night, but has kept him everywhere on the run. What the Japanese absurdly and without a vestige of right call *their* land of happy promise, you must transform into a mass of thorns, a wilderness of violence. You must destroy Japan's illusion that she can keep Manchuria as a permanent colony; you must turn it instead into a Japanese graveyard. Only thus can you prevent Japan's plans from coming to fruition; only thus can we secure an early victory; only thus can we save ourselves and our country.

Fellow-countrymen in the Northeast: You must realize that both inside and outside the Great Wall our power of resistance is daily growing. Our troops have already reached as far as Jehol and the vicinity of Chinhhsien. Before long our forces will have spread into your home provinces, Liaoning, Kirin, and Heilung-kiang, and will join hands with you. If you do not rise now to destroy the enemy, when will you do so?

As for those able-bodied citizens and their sons who have been conscripted and forced by the enemy to fight at the front—of their anger and anguish I am well aware. But all of you are citizens of the Republic of China and descendants of Hwang Ti. We are fellow-countrymen, brothers sprung from the same stock. You have warm blood in your veins—plenty of it—and you possess great abilities. You can, therefore, most certainly understand the high ideals and purposes of our nation. I know that when you draw near to the battlefield, no matter how close a watch the enemy may keep on you, he will be unable to suppress the surge of patriotism in your breasts or keep you from seeing and doing your duty. Recently on various fronts you have been heard calling out to our national troops that you were unwilling as Chinese to fight Chinese. So you have fired into the air, or when you have had the opportunity, have come over to join us. These are concrete instances of your real patriotism.

But even this is not enough. Since you are already in danger of losing your lives, why confine yourselves to purely negative actions? You ought to go further—kill the officers of the Japanese

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armed forces, or stir up their soldiers to oppose this war of aggression against China. If you started a revolution at the front and in the rear, and so harassed and confused the enemy, the effect would be even greater. Such an uprising within the Japanese ranks would be infinitely more effective than the mere refusal to fire at your own countrymen.

Perhaps you are afraid that if you took such action the enemy would kill or injure your parents, wives, and children. Here you are making a mistake, because even if you do not destroy the enemy, they will not let your kinsfolk go unharmed. Furthermore, if you do not take an active part in destroying the enemy, you will ultimately be unable to save even your own lives, and you will die an inglorious death, leaving behind you through the ages the infamous reputation of traitors. On the other hand, the more of the enemy you can destroy, the greater will be their fear of you, so that they will not only not dare to kill or harm your families; they will even be afraid not to protect your kinsfolk.

Therefore, the more courageous and the more active you are in creating disturbances within the enemy's ranks, the safer your families will be, and the greater immunity from danger they will enjoy. If you wish to return to your homes and see your parents again, there is only one road open to you: to revolt as soon as possible and drive out your enemies. Otherwise, your future will be nothing but darkness, humiliation, and danger, and you will spend the rest of your lives in regret, with no hope ever of returning to your homes.

To sum up in one sentence: The more you exert yourselves, the quicker will be our victory. Not only will your parents, your wives, and your children be saved, but your friends and neighbors, and the entire Northeast will be enabled to see again the light of freedom.

Fellow-countrymen in the Northeast: China today is a nation of four hundred and fifty million people fighting with one heart and mind for her existence as a free and independent country. You are the ones who have suffered the longest and the most. You are surely not willing to see the rest of the country go the way of the Northeast and suffer the same agonies that you have suffered. Do not disappoint the hopes or make light of the sacrifices of your

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fellow-countrymen throughout China, who are determined to save the nation and save you as well.

You should realize that today four hundred and fifty million people are standing solidly together with you, with the same purpose —ready to sacrifice everything, even their very lives, for the survival and the independence of the nation. They are eager to save you from the deep waters and the fiery trials which have been your lot during the last seven years, and to enable you to see and to enjoy again the glorious light of freedom. With so many of your fellow citizens standing behind you, you need not worry about achieving your objective. Rise up then, and take active measures; do not be discouraged; do not draw back or slacken your efforts; do not hesitate or waiver. Intensify your efforts; strive the more earnestly. Only so will you be worthy descendants of Hwang Ti.

I am deeply conscious of the terrible sufferings of our nation, the many hardships through which our soldiers and people have gone, and all the sacrifices that have been made during the last seven years. Until our humiliation has been erased I shall not be able to rest. I cannot shift the responsibility to other shoulders. I am determined to spend and to be spent for China even if it costs me my life; to use every ounce of my strength to carry out my duty to my nation and people; to bring consolation to the spirits of our comrades who have died so courageously on the battlefield; and to comfort the people in the Northeast who day and night are anxiously hoping for deliverance.

Fellow-countrymen in the Northeast: The armed forces and the people of the whole nation are eagerly awaiting you. The soul of the Republic of China is calling you. The brave spirits of the countless men and officers who have laid down their lives for their country, and of civilians too, who have suffered and died since that fateful September 18th are watching over you. You should realize that you are the citizens of an independent country. You are the masters of the Northeast. You must never be the slaves of the Japanese bandits. You must not forget the Republic of China, the Chinese nation. You must not forget your four hundred and fifty million countrymen; they will certainly not forget you. Still less must you forget your sacred duty of carrying on the War of Resistance. The glorious victory of our nation and your own emancipa-

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tion and freedom will all be realized in the not-distant future. Follow in the footsteps of those heroes who have already made the supreme sacrifice for the nation, and as one falls let another take his place. Press forward with unflinching courage until you have fulfilled your vow to wash away our national disgrace, avenge the wrongs the enemy has done to you, and return once more to the fold of your fatherland. With steady hearts and great courage fight till death behind the enemy lines; fight to save your nation; fight to save yourselves. Days of glory lie ahead of you.

Worldwide Significance of China's Struggle

A message delivered on October 10, 1938, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Republic.

OCTOBER 10, 1938.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

After fifteen months of resistance we are commemorating once again the founding of the Republic of China. The whole nation is, I know, profoundly moved, and its spirit is thoroughly aroused. I want you today to recall those glorious days when the Republic was being formed, and to think of the task that our great Leader and the revolutionary heroes who have gone before have left for us to accomplish. I also want you thoroughly to examine our revolutionary ideals and policies for the reconstruction of China, and to see clearly the road before us and the responsibilities which all must shoulder.

At last year's commemoration of the "Double Tenth" Festival, I warned you that this War of Resistance would not be a matter of six months or a year. We are fighting for the existence of our nation; we are battling for justice among men, and for faith and sincerity in international dealings. We hope by our sacrificial struggle to lay the foundations of permanent peace, and to save mankind as well as ourselves. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen, to prepare yourselves for still greater and more prolonged suffering, but at the same time to keep a firm faith in the certainty of victory. I ask you to unite as one, to be disciplined, to obey commands, so that ultimate success may be achieved.

Our difficulties and hardships, and our struggle with the foe have lasted for another year. Comparing our condition today with that of a year ago, we have to admit that we have lost even greater areas, we have lost even more brave soldiers and civilians, we have had to make yet more bitter and exacting sacrifices. But there is one obvious difference. Whereas a year ago our fellow-countrymen

were still by no means clear as to the significance of this War of Resistance, and rather undecided in their attitude, today they have all a clear appreciation of its importance. A year ago, there was still some confusion of thought as to the possibility of resistance; today the determination of the whole nation to resist is unmistakable. Today not only do all friendly Powers understand the meaning of our resistance, but even our enemies are constrained openly to admit that our resistance grows stronger the longer it continues. Japanese public opinion is now saying either that they "must have a new conception of China," or that they "must prepare for a hundred years' war." Our resistance for over a year has stimulated a new self-consciousness throughout the entire Chinese nation, among men and women, old and young. The fiery ordeal of these fifteen months, during which countless of our fellow-countrymen have been facing the stern realities of war, has already produced a new life full of hope and promise. Our people today are in spirit much closer to the heroes who founded the Republic twenty-seven years ago, and the actions of the people are in harmony with our ideals for the reconstruction of the nation. Today the whole nation accepts the Three Principles of the People and is able to act upon them. This is the surest guarantee of the nation's regeneration. Although we shall still have to pass through dangers and difficulties, yet the longer we hold on, the brighter the light will grow. Our determined efforts will enable us without question to expel the fierce invader, to make sure of the survival of our race, and to complete our revolutionary mission. And so we may say on this our national anniversary that our soldiers at the front have no need to be ashamed before the spirits of our great Leader and the other revolutionary heroes who have passed on. We soldiers and civilians in the rear, however, must realize that we have not yet fulfilled our responsibilities. From now on we must be even more resolute and enthusiastic, and we must increase our efforts manyfold.

Let us look at the international situation. During the past year the developments in the international situation have been extremely confused and complicated. But amid all this confusion, like the rising and falling of waves, amid all the turmoil around us, it is clear that the most important trends are those toward dictatorship and violence on the one hand, and the preservation of peace

on the other. In general these developments are directly or indirectly the result of our resistance. I have often said that our War of Resistance against Japanese aggression has not only affected the fate of our nation, but has also left its mark on the whole international situation. This will be admitted by all who have been able to study carefully the international political scene. I make bold to say that future historians will make China's great War of Resistance the central event of world history in the period beginning with 1937. When we look at the present explosive situation, with war clouds gathered all over Central Europe—a situation so explosive that it would take but a match to set it off—we see that the only reason why it has not already deteriorated into a great conflict engulfing a large portion of mankind is simply China's resistance to aggression. Things would have been very different but for China's resistance. This statement of mine is naturally somewhat different from the declaration of some that China has already become the front line of defense of world peace. My point is to show that our past struggles and sacrifices for our own nation and mankind have already produced very great compensating results, but that in the future we must fight even harder, fearing neither suffering nor sacrifice, in order that righteousness may flourish and justice be victorious, and that our mission and task in this generation may be brought to a successful consummation.

China with her ancient culture—the oldest in the world—and her enormous population—one quarter of the human race—would long ago have become an important factor in world affairs, and have made a vital contribution in peace and war had she not as a nation been disintegrated, unprogressive, and asleep. Our great Leader preached revolution throughout his whole life; his aim was to build the republic and to promote a world commonwealth. In his lecture on Nationalism he clearly stated: "We must not only restore our nation to its rightful position; we must also undertake great responsibilities on behalf of the world as a whole." What are these great responsibilities? At the close of his lecture on Nationalism our great Leader told us that after we have restored the position of China, we should use the moral character and love of peace that have been our national heritage to make the world one great Common-

wealth. Very earnestly he added, "This is the true genius of our nation."

But if we are to undertake this great mission, the first step must be to make China strong, so that she can stand independently on her own feet. In reality this is the meaning of the revolutionary ideals of the Three Principles for the reconstruction of the state. Unfortunately, in the past two decades these revolutionary ideals have not been carried out by the majority of the people within our own country, and they have not been really understood by the nations of the world, so that the successful completion of the Chinese revolution has been delayed until the present time. Meanwhile our fellow-countrymen have suffered invasion and all kinds of insults from their powerful enemy. Fortunately, from the time last year when we began our War of Resistance, because of the sacrifice of tens of thousands of brave soldiers and the earnest efforts of our fellow-countrymen throughout the whole land, the nations of the world have come to a new appreciation of China, and now hold her in high esteem. Although lovers of peace throughout the world may be pursuing different paths, yet their goal is the same as that of our own people in their War of Resistance. The aim of our struggle is very simple and the objective ahead of us is quite clear. If we gain the victory in this War of Resistance, then we shall not only be able to complete our task of national reconstruction, but we shall also have made a tremendous contribution to world peace. Just now our immediate responsibilities seem especially important. We must get the whole nation to realize that China is now struggling for her very life.

The Republic of China has reached the point when it is absolutely clear that we need have no anxiety about being conquered or destroyed. But our struggle now is not simply to prevent the conquest or destruction of China; it is really for the independence of the State and for our equality with other nations, so that the Chinese race—our children and our children's children for endless generations—may survive and enjoy equality and freedom, and realize the ancient Chinese ideal of a universal commonwealth.

Our future responsibilities will be even greater, and our struggle from now on will be more intense, more bitter, more dangerous. There cannot be for one moment any careless continuance in the old ways:

we must not have even one man wasting his time or spoiling one thing by delay. Look at what happened during the recent crisis in Central Europe: the speed with which each country mobilized and prepared for war, the thoroughness and completeness of the control enforced, the stern seriousness of the rising spirit of the people. If it is like this in preparing for war, what it would be like in actual conflict is plain.

We have now been fighting for over a year; from now on we—the Chinese people—should not wait for the pressure of any moral stimulus or the effect on our own reputation to drive us to fulfill our responsibility to the State. We should of our own accord undertake this duty. Even more should we realize that the time of greatest danger and difficulty is the opportunity for the greatest success. We must have the same courage as those heroes of the Revolutionary Party who, twenty-seven years ago, started the Revolution in Wuchang, and with their bare hands overthrew the Manchu regime and founded the Republic. Fearing no difficulty or hardship, shrinking from no sacrifice, let us rise as one man, and vigorously continue our resistance until we have stopped the invasion of our fierce foe—an invasion which has ravaged the country like a blazing fire—and win for our people independence and equality. We must put the Three Principles—the ideals that have run like a bright thread through all our revolutionary plans for the rebuilding of our nation—into practice and so lay the foundation for the permanent peace of the world. This is the vow that the whole nation should take on this anniversary of the founding of the Republic, and it is what I personally most earnestly hope for from my fellow-countrymen.

II

China Fights On

(1938-1940)

Our Power of Resistance Grows Stronger

An address to the nation on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Republic of China, October 10, 1938.

OCTOBER 10, 1938.

MY DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN :

AS YOU commemorate today the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of our Republic, you will call to mind the events of the fifteen months since our War of Resistance began and you will feel immeasurably heartened by the successes that we have already achieved. A year ago today some of you were still wavering; but now the faith and the determination of the whole nation are unmistakable and unshakable. Friendly states have come to understand more clearly the meaning of our defensive struggle, and even our enemy has been forced to admit that our power of resistance grows stronger all the time. In Japan they are now saying that there must be a "new understanding and new evaluation of China," and the Japanese militarists are being forced to warn the Japanese people that they must "prepare to fight for a hundred years." During our year and more of resistance, the national consciousness of our people —men and women, young and old—has been awakened, and new life, full of hope and glorious possibilities, has begun to surge through the nation.

During the past year the international situation has been extremely complex, yet the general trend has been toward condemnation of the use of force and toward maintenance of peace. Such a development has been due in part to China's strong resistance against aggression. Future historians will, I believe, regard our War of Resistance as the most significant event in this period of world history, since by our enormous sacrifices we are contributing not only to the good of the Chinese nation but also to the welfare of all mankind. From now on, however, we must struggle even harder and must be ready for even greater sacrifices, in order that justice

OUR POWER OF RESISTANCE GROWS STRONGER

may be accomplished. The aims of our struggle are simple and clear. If we succeed we shall not only be able to build a new China but we shall also contribute immeasurably to the peace of the world.

Just now the immediate objective in our War of Resistance seems more important to us. We are engaged in a life and death struggle. We are better prepared today than we were a year ago to prove that the Chinese nation cannot be conquered or destroyed by an alien people. But the purpose of our struggle is not merely to prevent conquest or destruction; it is also to win for our country a position of independence and equality in the family of nations. For this reason our responsibilities will increase and the struggle will become more intense, more difficult, and more critical. We must be doubly watchful and not tolerate any kind of negligence. Everyone must help and must do his part actively and whole-heartedly. Let us remember that the most difficult moment may be our greatest opportunity for success. Let us all rise as one man to resist the Japanese aggressor and to win freedom for our nation.

20

A Turning Point in Our Struggle

A message delivered to the people of China on October 25, 1938, following the evacuation of Hankow.

OCTOBER 25, 1938.

THE Japanese attack on Hankow was something we had long been expecting. Even prior to the battle in southern Shantung* the enemy announced his intention of attacking Wuhan. After his campaign in Honan had ended in failure and his plan to advance in Anhwei had been blocked, he pushed desperately up the Yangtze River with the combined strength of his naval, land, and air forces. Throughout the subsequent five months of sanguinary hostilities, our officers and men have carried on the struggle with great courage, and our people have done their best to help them, making heroic sacrifices and demonstrating a finer spirit than ever before.

As a result, Japanese casualties during this period have exceeded their losses for the whole first year of the war.† Now that their plan to annihilate our army has again failed, they have launched an invasion of South China to cover their chagrin. With the sphere of hostilities now further extended, the whole war situation has changed. At this crucial moment I deem it wise to review briefly, for the benefit of my countrymen, our War of Resistance, to explain

*Japan's north-south campaign for the possession of Hsuchow, junction of the Lunghai and Tientsin-Shanghai railways, commenced in January, 1938, and ended on May 20, 1938, with the capture of the city after a heavy reverse at Taierchwang. The plan to encircle and then annihilate the Chinese Army failed completely. A Tokyo broadcast on March 10, 1939, stated that a trial run was made over the Tientsin-Nanking line on March 7, 1939, prior to opening a service on March 10. Coming almost a year after the alleged pacification of the line the statement revealed the efficacy of Chinese guerrilla tactics in Shantung and Kiangsu Provinces.

†For the period between the capture, on June 15, 1938, of Anking (on the Yangtze), the capital of Anhwei, and September 30, 1938, when the Japanese were nearing the Wuhan cities (Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang), General Chen Cheng estimated the Japanese losses in action at 270,000, with 80,000 additional casualties from malaria, dysentery, cholera, and beri-beri contracted during the hard summer campaign.

A TURNING POINT IN OUR STRUGGLE

to them what has already happened and toward what objectives we should henceforth direct our endeavors.

In the first place, I wish you, our people, to have a clear understanding of the latest change in the war situation and of the consequences attendant upon the fall of Wuhan. From the beginning, our plan has been to establish the bases of our resistance not along the coast or rivers, or at the centers of communication, but in the vast interior. In accordance with the military strategy and the policy consistently pursued by our government, our western provinces are the real base of our resistance.

During the past ten months Wuhan has provided a bulwark behind which preparations for reconstruction in the western part of the country could be made, and has also served as a link in the lines of communication between North and South. The principal reasons for defending Wuhan were: to impede and weaken the enemy during his westward advance, to cover the establishment of lines of communication in the rear, and to shield the removal of industrial plants from Southeast and Central China to the Northwest and Southwest.* Only through economic development and the completion of a system of communications can these two regions become foundations for armed resistance and reconstruction.

Now that the industrial plants of Central China and much of the manpower have been moved to the western provinces, where the groundwork for economic development and for expansion of transportation facilities has been laid, we are free to concentrate on wide mobile front resistance without having to fight for mere points or lines.

Meanwhile, by determined struggle against great odds, we have succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the enemy; we have further reinforced our faith in the regeneration of our nation; and we have

*In addition to innumerable small units, the essential parts of 341 large industrial plants, arsenals, etc., totaling more than 130,000 tons were sent westward from Hankow alone by way of the Yangtze River. When Hankow fell, the western communication network was well advanced. The Burma Road was nearing completion and a highway to supplement the Kunming-French-Indo-China Railway was under construction. The 345-kilometer railway section between Hengyang, on the Hankow-Canton line, and Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi Province, had been opened for traffic, and the line was being pushed on toward French Indo-China. Work on the Chengtu-Chungking-Suifu-Kunming-Burma Railway was in progress. In October, 1938, \$76,000,000 was allocated by the government for opening up and improving interregional highways and waterways.

clearly demonstrated the vigor of our fighting spirit. We have achieved our purpose in defending Wuhan. Moreover, the Japanese invasion of Kwangtung and the cutting of communications between Canton and Hankow have reduced the importance of Wuhan in relation to the whole situation.

Militarily speaking, the value of Wuhan lay not in itself but rather in its being the center of a very wide area. By now, bases of operations have been established in the remoter outskirts of Wuhan; not only in the hilly regions of Hupeh, Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi Provinces but also in places behind the enemy lines in Hopei, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Chekiang Provinces. Thus the holding of the Wuhan center had become of secondary importance. In terms of strategy we could not concern ourselves with the defense of Wuhan to the neglect of the development of our strength on all fronts. Our strategy is not to lose sight of our major objectives by attending too closely to minor issues; not to desert our long-term policy for the sake of momentary gains or losses.

With the evacuation of civilians and industrial plants, with the transfer of our military forces, and with the completion of new arrangements for operations, we voluntarily evacuated the three cities of Wuhan so that our forces could resist from more advantageous positions.

Even though the enemy has occupied Wuhan temporarily, it has taken him five months and cost him casualties running into hundreds of thousands. What he has acquired is merely scorched earth and empty cities. He has failed in his major objective—the annihilation of our main strength at Wuhan and the winning of a short decisive war.

Henceforth, we shall develop our all-front resistance. The movement of our forces, whether withdrawing or advancing, will be unrestricted and free. The initiative will be with us. On the other hand, the enemy stands to gain nothing. Sunk deep in a morass, his troops will encounter increasing difficulties which will finally spell their doom.

My fellow-countrymen, you must understand that the shifting of our armed forces on this occasion marks a turning point in our struggle; a change in tactics from the defensive to the offensive. It marks also the beginning of a change of tide in the war. It must

not be mistakenly viewed as a military reverse or retreat, but as a strategic conservation of our strength which will bring about a victorious conclusion to our War of Resistance.

Secondly, my countrymen, we must keep in mind the consistent program and policy which were resolved upon at the outset of our armed resistance, and thereby fortify our self-confidence. This fixed program consists of three essentials: (1) the war must be prolonged, (2) the war must be fought on many fronts, (3) we must keep the initiative. These are indispensable factors in overcoming our enemy and in attaining victory. For a year now we have adhered to this policy and we shall pursue it to the very end.

Since launching his attack upon Manchuria on September 18, 1931, our enemy has run amuck, with daily mounting greed. Our central authorities, determined to protect our national interests, realized that great sacrifices would be inevitable when the final crisis came and accordingly laid, in the western provinces, foundations for a prolonged war. We should realize that our present armed resistance is clearing the way for the permanent task of national reconstruction and that without passing through this stage of prolonged warfare we cannot achieve freedom. These phases of our evolution, from unity to resistance and finally to reconstruction, have long been foreseen. I believe that they will be completely realized. If my fellow-countrymen review my utterances and actions in the light of the past sixteen months of war, they will clearly understand the special characteristics of our War of Resistance and the reasons for our determined policy.

In a speech at Kuling (Lushan), when the Sino-Japanese hostilities first broke out I said, "Now that the war has begun, we have no other recourse but to throw the whole life of our nation into the struggle to the bitter end. There will be absolutely no premature cessation or compromise." I said also, "Now that war has broken out, all our people, irrespective of where they come from and regardless of differences in sex and age, must determine to sacrifice everything." Then in my speech of October 10 last year I told my fellow-countrymen with even greater frankness, "This War of Resistance will not be over in six months or one year. Only through the greatest hardships and sufferings can we win the final victory." I made this statement in case my fellow-countrymen might not have

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fully realized that this war must last for a long period and extend over a very wide area. I felt that a warning was necessary.

Upon the fall of our capital (Nanking), the morale of our people was threatened. Again I informed all my fellow-countrymen. "This War of Resistance is an essential stage through which we must pass in the course of our national evolution; it is a war waged by a victimized nation for independence and self-preservation from an aggressor; and it differs radically in nature from ordinary wars between nations that are equal in strength. Our armed resistance is for the realization of the Three Principles of the People enunciated by our late Leader Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and for the accomplishment of our national revolution. We rely not merely upon weapons and military strength." I amplified that statement by saying, "The outcome of the war depends on whether one of the parties exercises more initiative than the other. Our way of dealing with the enemy is to prolong the war without surrender; for the deeper the enemy penetrates into our territory, the more he will find himself in a defensive position." These statements were meant to explain the special features of this war and also to show what would be the natural consequences of a long struggle to the end and of our fighting for the initiative.

Since at the very beginning of hostilities we decided upon a long drawn-out war, no momentary vicissitudes can shake our resolution. We expect to extend the war zones, and no loss of cities can affect the general situation. Furthermore, because our War of Resistance is to be a prolonged and all-inclusive war, we must secure the initiative. There are as many advantages on our side as there are disadvantages on the enemy's. Only by securing and maintaining the initiative shall we be able to defeat the enemy's attempt to win a short decisive war, and to shatter his dream of partitioning our territory.

Ours is a nation of vast size, huge population, and immense resources. The wider the sphere of hostilities extends, the stronger will our initiative become. On the one hand, our aim is to force the enemy, more and more, to stand on the defensive. On the other hand, our own strategy is to be free to take the offensive or to remain on the defensive; to capture or to abandon certain points. Our military preparations in the future will not be like the prepara-

tions in Shanghai and Nanking which were largely dictated by topographical and other factors. From now on, no matter how the enemy may attack us or blockade our coast, he cannot in the least affect our initiative and strategy. We are more confident than ever of final victory. I hope that all our armed forces and civilian population will resolve to carry on unfalteringly and to pursue the strategy of an all-front offensive with ever greater courage. The longer the war lasts, the more solid will our strength become. The larger the sphere of hostilities the more scattered will be the strength of the enemy. Regardless of how the international situation may change, the enemy will eventually collapse through exhaustion.

As I have said before, our War of Resistance differs entirely from wars fought for political supremacy. Ours is a war for the very existence of our nation. It is for the completion of our national revolution. Being such, it is beyond considerations of time or space. It cannot be blocked by factors of finance, economics, communications, or by other external obstacles. Neither poison gas, nor high explosives, nor the disparity in armaments, nor the heavy sacrifices we are suffering can deter us from prosecuting the war. Such a war has no time limit; it ends only when the objective is attained. In this war there is no distinction between the front and the rear. Any part of the country may become the battlefield. A revolutionary war is not affected by the apparent difference of strength in the contending forces, by heavy sacrifices, or by shortage of war supplies. Even if we are cut off from every source of arms and from financial assistance, and even if every outlet to the sea is blockaded, the fire of our national consciousness and revolutionary spirit will continue to blaze, and we shall carry on the struggle until we win. Besides, our supplies were assured long ago and there is no immediate danger of the enemy cutting our communication routes in the rear.

History has demonstrated that a long-term revolutionary war is always crowned with ultimate victory. Nations like the United States, France, Russia, and Turkey gained their national independence and freedom after prolonged resistance against their oppressors. The courage of our resistance also has shown that the more aggressive the enemy is the stronger our power of resistance becomes; and that the greater our losses are, the faster we generate

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new strength. At this crucial moment, when our War of Resistance is entering a decisive phase, my fellow-countrymen, we must remember the national policy resolved upon at the outset of the war and also the manifesto issued by the Government upon the removal of its seat to Chungking. We should recognize clearly the true importance of prolonged and all-front resistance, and exert greater efforts to meet the new situation arising from the extension of the sphere of hostilities. Our faith in the cause of armed resistance must not be shaken by temporary change.

From now on, we must be more serious, more firm, and more practical. We must endure greater hardships, and march courageously forward, devoting our entire energy to the all-front war and fortifying our bases of resistance in the rear, thereby assuring final victory. As the proverb has it, "One who sets out on a hundred-*li* journey is only halfway when he has covered ninety *li*." In order to win final success we must exert ourselves to the utmost and fight on with the greatest fearlessness. "Rather be a broken jade than a whole tile." Our ultimate freedom depends upon our present determination. The success or failure of our resistance and the fate of our nation hinge upon our resolution today. My fellow-countrymen, let us all strive together in this one great effort.

The Second Stage of the War

A message delivered from the war front to the second session of the People's Political Council, on November 28, 1938.

NOVEMBER 28, 1938.

I REGRET that I am unable to be present at your meetings because of duties at the war front, but I shall be with you in spirit and I wish you every success. I recall vividly the First Session of the Council in Wuhan, when you displayed such a splendid spirit of patriotism and passed a large number of resolutions aiming at the realization of final victory and the fulfillment of our supreme objective —national reconstruction. When the session was over some of you went to Chungking and other places to offer your services to the Government; others went to the front to help in the war; still others of you returned to your homes and did your best to stir up the people. In all this work you have demonstrated real leadership. Your unity and your devotion reveal the true spirit of our nation. Although the Council has had only a short history, its existence has been fully justified.

Now our War of Resistance has spread over a wide front from the Yangtze Valley to the coast of Kwangtung. On the surface it may seem that our difficulties are increasing as the area of conflict is being extended; actually, the invasion of South China only shows that the Japanese are reaching the end of their resources and are becoming desperate. Since June the enemy troops have tried to push their way up the Yangtze River but their advance has been seriously retarded by our gallant troops. Within the short period of five months the Japanese have sent reinforcements five or six times, and the number of their casualties has already exceeded 300,000. Alarmed at the prospect of military exhaustion the Japanese have tried to divert our attention by invading Kwangtung; they hope that by cutting our lines of communication and by shutting us off from sources of supplies, they may bring the war to a speedier conclusion. But they are grievously mistaken. The change in the military situation simply makes it possible for us to assume a more active role and to turn the tide of war in our own favor.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE WAR

We have already mapped out a complete new strategy. From the beginning of the war, in anticipation of the present course of events we redoubled our efforts to reconstruct Southwest China as a new base for our army as well as a new center for our industries. Here we shall consolidate our new unity and intensify our struggle against the invader, and so ultimately regain our national freedom.

Our policy is unwavering and resolute. For five years we have been trying to awaken our people, soldiers and civilians, to the defense of our country. Now in time of extreme difficulty a new national spirit is emerging and gives us sure promise of ultimate victory. When the enemy tries to move further westward he will meet with such resistance as he has never before encountered.

Since the war started we have foreseen the moves of the Japanese and have been able to offset them with counter-moves. Thanks to the united efforts of the whole nation during the past six months, we have not only improved our military position in the occupied areas but we have also established centers of political activity in these areas. Moreover, we have built an impregnable system of defense west of the Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow Railways. In order to stay the advance of the enemy into the interior, many of our soldiers in the Yangtze and Huai Valleys have already made the supreme sacrifice. I have nothing but praise for their patriotism and courage.

We have now entered the second stage of the war and we are already gaining the upper hand over the enemy. It is true we shall have to face new difficulties, but that is all the more reason why we should rededicate our lives to the great task before us. Keep up your remarkable spirit and be ready to give your best to the nation. While the Council is in session you will offer the Government advice as to what should be done; when the session is over you will no doubt continue to lead our people so that our struggle against the invader may result in victory. Your efforts will encourage those at the front to fight with greater vigor and those in the rear to take more active part in reconstruction enterprises and to prepare themselves for military service. The collapse of the enemy and the triumph of our armies are not far distant. As we fight we are also building a stronger foundation for our nation. So let us firmly resolve to overcome every obstacle and to achieve final success.

Japan's So-Called New Order

*A speech addressed to Government leaders at the
Central Kuomintang Headquarters on December
26, 1938.*

DECEMBER 26, 1938.

COMRADES:

WE HAVE now entered upon a new stage in our War of Resistance. On several occasions recently I pointed out that the past eighteen months have been the first or preliminary period of the war. The second period has now begun. On both northern and southern war fronts, our soldiers' morale and fighting spirit are stronger than ever before. Our soldiers well know that to the enemy this is a war for the complete subjugation of China, while to us it is a war for national independence; hence their wills are exceptionally firm and their spirits are very high. Our people also realize that the enemy will not pause until he has carried out his aggressive designs and has destroyed China, and that we, unless we brave death to save life, cannot expect to survive. But, difficult as our situation may be, the firm determination of our soldiers and people is equal to it. If those at the front and those in the rear are equally conscious of the national peril and if all the people struggle and sacrifice with one heart for victory, without hesitation or compromise, then I am sure our resistance will succeed.

Aware of our determined purpose and unified will, our enemy has tried many methods of intimidation and deception in addition to his military operations. Following the Japanese government's manifesto on November 3, 1938, the Japanese Prime Minister, the Ministers of War and the Navy, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs have made contradictory and fallacious statements which are intended to mislead their people at home and to deceive the world at large. They vainly hope to poison the minds of our people and to frighten them into submission. Their statements were seconded and echoed throughout Japan by public and private organs of opinion. On

December 22, the Japanese Premier announced the readiness of Japan to readjust relations with a "reborn China." This statement is the height of verbal jugglery, and shows clearly what Japan's real motives are.

Konoye's announcement is nothing but a wearisome repetition of cant phrases. It seems unnecessary for us, in the midst of our War of Resistance, to pay any attention to it, let alone refute it. However, considering it in the light of the enemy's words and deeds the past few months, we perceive that the statement, though outwardly vague and incoherent, has hidden within it a sharp cutting edge. It is a revelation in detail of the enemy's plan to destroy our country and exterminate our race. It is also a complete exposure of Japan's fantastic program to annex China, dominate East Asia, and subdue the world.

Our enemy is especially gifted with the ability to play on words, disguise fallacies, and lay smoke screens while he brings about the ruin of his victims. For instance, after Konoye's statement the spokesman of the Japanese government declared on December 24 that Premier Konoye had made clear the terms to be required of China and further took it upon himself to say that the Premier's words embodied the views of the moderates in Japan.

My deep anxiety is lest a small number of people in the world may not appreciate what a menace lurks behind the smoke screen and may regard the issue raised as more or less innocuous. Hence I wish to expose the mind of the Japanese so that our own people may be warned and friendly nations may understand to what extent world peace will be jeopardized and humanity imperilled if the Japanese are given full rein. I wish to call the attention of all peoples to the barbarism of the Japanese militarists, to their insanity, to their practice of deceiving themselves and others, and to their gross ignorance. It is of the most urgent importance that everyone should realize what Japan is determined to do. Taking Konoye's statement of December 22 as the pivot of my observations, I shall now recall what Japanese popular sentiment has been championing during the past few months and what slogans have been employed.

First, there is "the creation of a new order in East Asia." In this slogan the Japanese take special pride. According to Foreign Minister Arita's explanation on December 19, "The new order in

East Asia means that Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China shall assist and co-operate with one another closely in politics, economics, and culture, in order to combat the Red Peril, to protect Oriental civilization, to remove economic barriers, and to help China to rise from her semi-colonial status and thus secure peace in the Far East." On December 22, Koyone said, "The ultimate objective of the China Incident is not merely military victory but the rebirth of China and the establishment of a new order in East Asia. This new order will be based on a triangular co-operation between the new China, Japan, and 'Manchukuo.'" Let everyone note that what he means by a reborn China is not an independent China but an enslaved China, a China that would have to take orders from Japan for generations to come. The so-called new order would be based on relations binding enslaved China to Japanese-created "Manchukuo" and to Japan herself.

What is Japan's real aim? Under the guise of opposing the "Red Peril," Japan seeks to control China's military affairs; claiming to uphold Oriental civilization, she seeks to uproot China's racial culture; and urging the elimination of economic barriers, she aspires to exclude American and European influence, and to dominate the Pacific. She intends to use the so-called "economic unity" or "economic bloc" of Japan, "Manchukuo," and China to obtain a stranglehold on the economy of China. Let us realize how pregnant with evil the words, "creation of a new order in East Asia," are. They mean the overthrow of international order in East Asia and the enslavement of China so that Japan may divide the world and dominate the Pacific.

Secondly, we hear of the so-called "unity of East Asia." "Make a homogeneous body of East Asia" has been a favorite Japanese slogan for the past few months. The application of this slogan is more general than that of the so-called "economic unity" or "economic bloc." Advocating the "indivisibility of Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China," the Japanese aim to absorb China politically, economically, and culturally into their own country. Japanese periodicals maintain that the structure of the "unity of East Asia" should be vertical, with Japan at the summit, and not in any sense horizontal; the system of relationship should be patriarchal, with Japan as the head of the family and "Manchukuo" and China as children. In other words,

Japan is to be the governor and the master, and China the governed and the slave.

What is this but annexation? What does this mean but the total extinction of China? Konoye's recent phrase, "the establishment of *linked* relations of mutual assistance in matters political, economic, and cultural between Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China" makes us think only of manacles and shackles. His "linked relations" would be chains dragging us down into a pit from which we could never escape.

Thirdly, we hear such slogans as "economic unity" and "economic bloc." This idea has been promoted for many years by the Japanese and has had considerable influence. It is essential to the proposed "homogeneity of East Asia." On the slogan they have rung many changes; now speaking of "economic reciprocity" and again of "economic co-operation." In the manifesto of the Japanese government issued on November 3, "economic union" is used. In the latter part of November enemy newspapers printed the headline, "Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China are to form an economic unit and henceforth share a common fate." In his statement of December 19, Arita said, "Japan has decided to convene an economic conference in order to bring about close economic collaboration between Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China, and to strengthen the idea of economic union."

What is called an "economic bloc" is in reality economic exploitation. Such instruments of economic aggression as the North China Development Company and the Central China Development Company have been set up for some time. Conversations on economic matters have been held more than once by self-styled representatives of "Manchukuo" and China with officials of Japan. Two days after Konoye's statement, what the Japanese call their Planning Board adopted a resolution urging "the expansion of the productive capacity of Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China." This "economic bloc" is designed to be the means not only of controlling our Customs revenue and finance and of monopolizing our production and trade, but also of gradually limiting the individual freedom of our people even in regard to food and clothing, residence and travel. The Japanese are to have power over life and death, the power of binding and loosening; we are to become their slaves and their chattels. We are to have our substance devoured by tyrants.

Finally, we learn of the "Asia Development Board" set up as a result of agitation for a medium through which Japan could deal with China. The China Affairs Council projected previously has now given way to this. The arrogant inclusiveness of the new name is a flagrant insult to all the peoples of Asia. Japan is bent not simply on ruining and dismembering China; her ambition for conquest now extends to the entire continent of Asia.

On December 15, the day before the official inauguration of this Asia Development Board, Konoye said, "A new executive organ should be constituted for creating a new order in East Asia. This organ in conjunction with other organs will foster close relations between Japan and China. It will become the key to the execution of our China policy, the realization of which is our final objective in the China Affair." The real function of the organ, however, is to carry out a policy of destroying China. It brings together in one organization all the special service branches set up some time ago all over China which have been working all manner of secret villainy. Now, these rascals boldly unmask themselves and are accorded official status. The establishment of this Asia Development Board reveals unmistakably what are the ends and the means of Japanese policy. There is no more concealment.

Let us now examine Konoye's statement of December 22, seeking the true meaning beneath the mists of verbiage. I shall draw attention to a number of important points.

1. The gist of the statement is the so-called collaboration between Japan, "Manchukuo," and China for the "building of a new order in East Asia." Konoye said that his purpose was to make clear the Japanese government's true intentions to China and to other countries. Of course, his real object was to address America, Europe, and the world. Therefore he exercised special care in manipulating his words so as to produce the impression that Japan desired of China neither territory nor war reparations, and was concerned not for her own particular interests but for the good of the Far East. He even ventured to say that Japan desired China to become a completely independent state. Furthermore, he appeared solicitous over the abolition of consular jurisdiction and foreign concessions in China, as if Japan did not intend to take anything from China but actually wanted to give something to China. He

assumes that the world is still ignorant of the true meaning behind the phrase "creation of a new order in East Asia" and will be easily fooled by it. But we know that if China is destroyed and if Japan becomes dominant over China, "territory" for Konoye will merely be the area over which Japan has gained control, and "resources" will be what Japan has seized. When these are stowed away as loot, Japan can well dispense with irrelevant demands for territory and reparations. Since Japan lusts for our entire territory and our entire population, Konoye can well afford to declare that Japan has no desire for any particular part of our "territory" or for any special portion of our substance as "reparations."

From China's standpoint, the question of war indemnities depends upon the determination of war responsibility. Where the responsibility in this case of aggression rests is common knowledge to everybody. It is only too obvious that Japan began the war by invading our sovereign territory. As for consular jurisdiction, it will be a mere superfluity if Japan is allowed full control over China. What has been called "the return of the concessions" would simply mean the turning over of all of them to Japan. Popular sentiment in Japan has indeed agitated not only for the taking over of the foreign concessions but also for their being made into one large Japanese concession. If China should recognize the so-called "new order in East Asia" and the "collaboration of Japan with 'Manchukuo' and China," Japan could easily transform our entire territory into a huge Japanese concession. Even if China should not actually become a slave state yet she would certainly descend to the status of a protectorate; and such a fate would be equivalent to annexation by Japan. When Konoye speaks of making China a truly independent state, who will not recall the status of Korea as defined in the Treaty of Shimonoseki?

Before Konoye made his statement a section of the world entertained the hope that Japan might repent. But since the statement appeared, I am sure that no one in China with any sense of right and wrong and any understanding of current events will again entertain the hope of making peace by compromise.

2. Konoye speaks of "economic co-operation" and "joint defense against Communism." I have dealt with the nature of "economic co-operation" in connection with the so-called "economic bloc,"

and need not say more on this point. By "joint defense against Communism" Konoye means the participation of China in the anti-Comintern bloc, the stationing of Japanese troops on Chinese territory, and the setting aside of Inner Mongolia as a special area for combating Communism. It is useless for us to discuss such a plan while we are engaged in putting the Three Principles of the People into practice. The phrase, "joint defense against Communism," is simply a cloak under which Japan plots to control our military affairs and then to manage our political, cultural, and even our diplomatic life. Japan was vainly striving to achieve this in the years before the beginning of our resistance on July 7, 1937. Because we did not fall into Japan's trap and chose rather to endure suffering and to resist we still exist as a nation today.

Certain sections of world opinion entertain the view that Japan's policy is directed against Soviet Russia. The truth is that Japan entered the Anti-Comintern Pact and planned the "joint defense against Communism" neither to combat Communism nor Soviet Russia, but as a pretext for destroying China. Anti-Russian feeling is a very small factor; the dominant factor is Japan's purpose to destroy China. If Japan's purpose was only national defense against Soviet Russia, then why, during the Changkufeng Affair in July and August of 1938, did Shigemitsu, the Japanese Ambassador at Moscow, retreat and finally yield so ingloriously before the Soviet Foreign Minister? The Japanese anti-Communist arguments are designed to mislead public opinion abroad and at home, and are also a trick to obtain from China the right to station troops in China and completely control Inner Mongolia.

Clearly, if we could consent to Japanese troops being stationed in China and to Inner Mongolia being set aside as a special area, we should not have begun to resist. If we could be overawed by Japan, we should not have fought our way to Peiping when our revolutionary army was blocked by Tanaka's forces in Tsinan in the seventeenth year of the Republic (1928). We should have politely offered Japan North China and Inner Mongolia. But when our revolutionary force had gathered momentum and the Three Principles of the People had evolved, no hardship could prevent us from attaining our goal. Konoye's demands betray a sad lack in his understanding of present-day China. He does not know his own country, much

less China; nor does he recognize current trends. No power can stop us now.

3. The latter section of Konoye's statement demands that China accord Japan special facilities in developing North China and Inner Mongolia. This is again making capital of the term "joint defense against Communism" in order to monopolize China's national economy and repress her economic freedom. The statement also demands that Japanese subjects be granted rights to reside and trade in the interior of China. Superficially, this demand appears quite harmless. Unfortunately, Konoye does not seem to be aware of the deep marks that the evil-doing of Japanese subjects everywhere have left upon the minds of our people. The very mention of the word Japan reminds our people of Japanese special organs, Japanese ronins, smuggling of opium, peddling of morphine, manufacture of white-powder, sale of heroin, operating of gambling dens and houses of ill repute, smuggling of arms, conspiracies with bandits, bribing of traitors, and a hundred other Japanese devices for disturbing and debauching our people.

After the jurisdictional rights of China are completely restored, the freedom of other nationals to reside and trade here may be considered. But such freedom for Japanese nationals now would mean that we must endure their poisonous disturbances, forfeit our own right to maintain peace and order, allow them to destroy our good customs and traditions, and let them suck at our economic veins. The Japanese are forgetful! Is not this demand for the right to reside in the interior and freedom to trade similar in essence to that Japanese demand years ago for concession agreements in China's Northeast? In the eighteenth year of the Republic (1929) we refused because we would rather see our Northeast occupied by the Japanese army than willingly enter into unequal treaties which would imperil our country and impair our sovereign rights. Why? Because wherever the Japanese went, China's policing and economic rights were being destroyed. If Japanese nationals were given rights to reside and trade in certain areas, our people in those areas would lose their freedom, or even be forced to evacuate.

At that time, although the issue was limited to the Northeast, we refused; and now, when Konoye broadens the issue to include our entire sovereign territory, and does so under the slogan of a

"new order in East Asia" should our people hesitate even a moment before saying no?

4. Konoye speaks of the "amalgamation of our two races." Friendly relations on the basis of equality and mutual respect are the road we seek. But Japan's idea of amalgamating, judged by many statements, is simply absorption of the Chinese by the Japanese and the destruction of our race. Japan's idea of co-operation is that we should be slaves, and give everything Japan demands from us. We cannot assent to such a policy of "amalgamation" and "co-operation."

These are the principal points in Konoye's statement. Konoye described them as "Japan's minimum demands." If these are the minimum demands I should like to know what more will be asked. They are many times more comprehensive and dangerous than Hirota's "three principles." Our enemy hopes vainly that we may be inveigled into accepting them. But if we should not accept Hirota's "three principles" at the commencement of hostilities, how can we now accept these degrading terms?

Konoye's statement has completely bared the pernicious nature of Japan's designs for the destruction of her neighbor. Furthermore, the "Meiji doctrine" and the contents of the "Tanaka Memorial," both of which the Japanese have tried vainly to deny, have all received confirmation. Tanaka said, "In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China." If Japanese aggression is not defeated, it will cease only when China is destroyed. Let all friendly nations take warning.

Japan's continental policy has now broadened into an oceanic policy. Besides advancing northward, Japan is now moving southward. She is pursuing simultaneously a policy of continental and maritime aggression. While attempting to annex China, Japan is also seeking to overthrow international order, dominate East Asia, and banish European and American influence. When that has been achieved, what Japan will do next is all too plain.

Japan has revealed the secret ambitions and designs which she labored hard to conceal during the last few decades. When we referred before to Japan's intentions, what we said was regarded by some people as a provocative exaggeration, for they thought that Japan could not entertain such wild plans. I now make bold to say

that from now on neither China nor the world at large will be deceived regarding Japan's real intentions.

Judging by Konoye's statement, we are convinced that Japan's real desire is to annex our country and destroy, once and for all, our nation. Japan is not really interested in such things as the so-called "Sino-Japanese co-operation" or "economic collaboration." Compared with Japan's more comprehensive designs, cession of territory and payment of indemnities are of minor importance. By means of the so-called "economic bloc," Japan aims to absorb our resources and manage our finances, which would effectively take the place of "reparations." Japan demands the right to station Japanese troops in China and Inner Mongolia, and freedom to reside and trade in any part of China, because she prefers ruling over China's entire territory, oppressing and enslaving our people, to "cession of territory."

We well remember that before Korea was annexed by Japan, Korean nationals were treated with such hypnotic slogans as "Japan and Korea are one," and "Japan and Korea must not be separated." Today, Japan cries, "Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China must not be divided," and "East Asia must be a co-operating unit," which simply means the annexation of China. All the talk about a so-called "creation of a new order in East Asia" is a mere smoke screen. It is truly a new invention of Imperial Japan for the destruction of another country and the extermination of its people.

Japan has made ready her plans and her methods to ruin China, and her aggressive intentions can no longer be concealed. What Japan lacks is a readiness on our part to be deceived or a willingness to fall into her trap. When the issues are so clear, we should be insane if we still sought safety under the jaws of the tiger, or looked for independence and equality by means of peaceful compromise. Once our spirit surrenders, we are forever doomed; and once we are chained, we shall never find release. I may also add that though Japan's malevolent intentions have only now been completely exposed, they have been brewing for generations in the minds of the Japanese militarists.

During the past decade, Japan's political leaders have passed away one after another, leaving not a single statesmen who comprehends the high principles governing the rise and fall of nations. In

consequence, Japanese militarists have without restraint violated laws and discipline and have taken things into their own hands. The greater Japan's national danger becomes, the more desperate and ambitious they become.

Fortunately, in July, 1937, our countrymen rose up to offer resistance, and thus frustrated Japan's hope that we might yield without a struggle. Furthermore, we forced the Japanese to reveal their real intentions until now the world sees clearly just what they are trying to do. If we had failed to resist and had allowed the enemy to nibble at our territory, our nation would, like a patient suffering from a malignant and incurable disease, gradually have worn away, have lost its senses, and have perished within three to five years. Look at Korea. While Japan pretended to maintain Korean independence, she yet used every direct and indirect device to dismember Korean territory. Unconsciously, Korea finally became a Japanese possession.

Through eighteen months of fighting, the national consciousness of our people has been heightened. Our unyielding stand and the gallant sacrifices made by more than a million of our men at the front and by millions of our people in the rear have compelled the enemy to take off their mask and reveal their vicious features. As a result China has escaped the peril of being annexed and destroyed, and at the same time the world has been forewarned that this insatiable nation, if allowed free rein, would endanger the peace of the whole world. It is true that we have made immense sacrifices, but in waging this war we have saved our nation from the brink of destruction and we are eliminating a future menace to the world. Our bitter sacrifices bear a profound significance. Our unwavering and unyielding spirit has already erected a strong bulwark for our national existence. Let us see this clearly and press on to complete fulfillment of our responsibilities.

The enemy desires to control our military affairs in the name of "joint defense against Communism"; he wishes to reduce our resources through the device of an "economic bloc," and he plans to direct our policies and our culture by "co-operation." To him the "unity of East Asia" means the ultimate extinction of our nation.

Speaking of culture, what independent culture is there in East Asia except that of China? The center of gravity of East Asia is in

China. Speaking of economics, if China should lose her independence, what would be left of the present economic structure in East Asia? Speaking of politics, has not the traditional political thought of China, founded on neighborliness, loyalty, humanity, peacefulness and sincerity, been the central support of East Asia? Today the Three Principles of the People as bequeathed by our late *Tsungli* (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) are the fundamental principles of equality, liberty, independence, and of corporate existence. They are also the safe-guard of enduring peace.

For us, the year and a half of war has laid a solid foundation for national regeneration. We fear no difficulties, nor are we concerned over impending dangers. We merely lament the fate of Japan, whose present condition has come about in spite of the efforts and sacrifices of her earlier reformist patriots. Today, her people are without power, her throne without authority, and her politicians without knowledge or integrity. A few hot-headed young militarists can do as they please. They are sapping Japan's national strength, shaking her national foundations, and advancing savagely on the road of self-seeking at the expense of others. In the eyes of these young militarists, China and the other countries of the world do not exist. They do as they please, guided by their own greed. If such conduct be allowed to continue, the future of Japan is indeed full of peril. Although we are sworn enemies of the Japanese militarists, we are still neighbors to the Japanese people, who share with us a language of common origin. Reviewing Japan's history and looking forward to her future, we see only danger in her path and are sad for her.

We should realize that the Japanese militarists are now heading blindly into a maze. They have forgotten their own history and their own position in the world. They neither see the world outside nor the crisis within. They do not recognize their neighbor, a revolutionary China. There are but two aspects to their thought. On the one hand, they are so blind to facts as to hope that China will accept their outrageous terms, and on the other hand they rely on their cunning to hoodwink the world. Because they themselves are stupid, they believe the people of the world can be fooled. Because they themselves are violent, they believe that force can dominate the world.

Konoye shows by his statement that he wants to close China's Open Door and scrap the Nine-Power Treaty by "establishing a new order in East Asia," to expel European and American influence from China by creating an "economic bloc" and the so-called "unity of East Asia," and to revive the Twenty-one Demands presented to Yuan Shih-kai by "stationing troops in China" and "setting aside Inner Mongolia as a special area." Moreover, Japan intends to force China herself to close the Open Door and break the League Covenant and the Nine-Power Treaty. She wants us to follow in her footsteps and, by breaking faith and despising loyalty, to hasten her control of East Asia, after which she may realize her dream of world domination. Throughout five thousand years, China has always been guided by good faith and sincerity in her statecraft. Why should the threats of Japan make us abandon this stand?

China as a state is founded on the principle of not oppressing the defenseless and not fearing the aggressor. Here particularly, she is not willing to violate pacts, or, by breaking faith, to destroy the principles governing the relations of mankind. I remember the meeting of Tanaka and our late *Tsungli* (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Shanghai in the third year of the Republic, at the time of the outbreak of the Great War in Europe. At that time Tanaka proposed that East Asiatic nations should denounce all treaty relations with foreign countries and "erect a new order in East Asia." Dr. Sun asked, "Would this not involve the breaking of international treaties?" To which Tanaka replied, "Would not the denunciation of international treaties and termination of unequal obligations be advantageous to China?" "Unequal treaties should be terminated by straightforward and legitimate procedure," solemnly declared Dr. Sun. "China is not prepared to become a party to illegal, though advantageous, denunciation of treaties." Comrades, this is China's spirit. It is also the spirit of the Three Principles of the People. We have depended on this spirit to resist invasion. Moreover, by this spirit we shall be sustained so that we may restore order in East Asia as our contribution toward enduring world peace.

To conclude, this war on the part of Japan is violent banditry brought about by the total collapse of morals and sound principles in that country. As far as China is concerned, we have courageously taken upon our shoulders the world responsibility of fighting for

justice and righteousness. Of late, the Japanese militarists have lost their senses and are rapidly wrecking civilization and destroying the happiness of mankind. Nations of the world bound by treaty obligations should have acted promptly to maintain the sanctity of treaties and to apply punitive measures against the aggressor. But the nations looked on and hesitated. Unmindful of sacrifice, China took upon herself the immense responsibility of defending righteousness and justice.

Internally, our object in prosecuting this War of Resistance is to complete the task of national reconstruction and secure for China independence, liberty, and equality. Internationally, our object is to restore the prestige of treaties and to re-establish peace and order. This is a war between good and evil, between right and wrong. It is a war between justice and force, between a breaker of the law and a keeper of the law.

A Chinese proverb says, "Virtue never lacks company; it will ever find support." The force of world justice will rise, and men of good will will ultimately co-operate with one another. We should fix our eyes steadfastly on our goal and be firm in our determination. Our firmness should increase with our difficulties, and the longer our resistance the greater should be our courage. Let the entire nation carry on with a brave heart. I urge our comrades, our Army, and our people to redouble their efforts in order that the final victory may be ours.

23

Wholesome Recreation

A New Year's speech delivered on December 31, 1938.

DECEMBER 31, 1938.

THIS is the Republic of China's twenty-seventh New Year's Eve. Tomorrow will be the beginning of our twenty-eighth year. The New Year season is traditionally merry and gay, a time when everyone seeks some kind of recreation.

We have been carrying on our War of Resistance for eighteen months. Soldiers and civilians all over the country are living in danger and hardship, especially the populace in the "occupied" areas who are subjected to the enemy's endless oppression and cruelty. At such a time, when the greatest efforts we can make are hardly enough, how can one talk of pleasure and recreation? In order to carry on the war to the last, in order to reach our goal of victory, we must stimulate and invigorate the spirit of the people. Any recreation that can do this, that is wholesome and proper, should not be forbidden. Instead, it should be actively encouraged. Therefore, I wish to speak today on the subject: Promoting wholesome recreation and invigorating the spirit of the people.

I inaugurated the New Life Movement because I saw the danger that our country was in, and also because I realized that extravagance, disorder, and laxity in living were making it impossible for many of our people to cope with the extraordinary situation. And so we laid down certain rules or standards of conduct for disciplined, creative, and beautiful living and applied these to the ordinary problems of food, clothing, shelter, and travel in harmony with the four ancient virtues of propriety, justice, integrity, and conscientiousness.

The results of the Movement, though far short of our ideals, have yet been very good. Our undaunted spirit, our power of endurance, and our ability to continue the struggle during this past year and a half are certainly due in part to the influence of the New Life Movement. Some people, misunderstanding the New Life

Movement, think that the lack of a definite statement concerning recreation is an evidence of its weakness. They argue that living continuously under the strain and pressure of work without diversion and relaxation lessens interest in life. They are ignorant of the fact that the New Life Movement not only does not forbid wholesome recreation, but actually includes recreation in the plan of a creative life. However, the recreations enjoyed must be those which are beneficial to the body and mind of the individual and also to society, as well as of educational and moral value. Such recreations are, of course, far removed from the low pleasures of gambling, debauchery, and the like, all of which are harmful in their effects upon society and upon the individual.

For example, an official addicted to gambling, drunkenness, or prostitution neglects public affairs, wastes his money and time, and weakens his will power. Corruption and many other evils follow. A civilian, addicted to the same unworthy pleasures, neglects productive work, falls into debt, disturbs the social order, breaks the law, and finally develops into a parasite on society.

The truth of what I have said should be apparent to all, yet many deliberately pretend to be ignorant and refuse to climb out of the slough in which they are wallowing, shamelessly asserting that their "occasional pleasures" are a private matter and are not detrimental to the public good. How can anyone say such behavior is not detrimental to public welfare? Indulgence in these "occasional pleasures" results in the formation of bad personal habits and eventually in the undermining of social morality. In the *Book of Music* it is written: "If likes and dislikes are not controlled from within, and the mind, beguiled from without, becomes incapable of self-criticism, then reason is forsaken. When reason is forsaken, and sensual lusts are pursued, the heart becomes disobedient and deceitful, behavior becomes loose and lawless, and widespread social confusion follows."

Improper amusements are just what will cause the forsaking of reason, the pursuit of sensual lusts, and the paralysis of self-criticism. That the culture of our nation has made no progress, that our political affairs show little improvement, that we are constantly in the state of an impoverished, second-rate colony, and that we are today suffering from invasion and aggression is partly due to our people mistaking low and degraded forms of pleasure, with

all their disgraceful consequences, for genuine recreation. Such improper amusements not only produce mental confusion and insensibility at the moment, but also leave in their train deep anguish and remorse, rather than any recollection of real pleasure, since they so fundamentally contradict the true meaning of happiness. Therefore, in the New Life Movement, such amusements are not regarded as recreation, nor are they tolerated as matters of purely private concern. They are evils to be thoroughly eradicated.

Recently, I gave orders strictly prohibiting all officials, both civil and military, from indulgence in improper amusements. If we wish to regenerate our nation, we must strictly enforce the prohibition of opium and at the same time stamp out the vicious evil of gambling. I earnestly hope that all our comrades and fellow-countrymen will themselves awaken and will wake up others; will persuade themselves and will persuade others to take up the task of social reform; only then can we hope to revive our nation. Our comrades in Chungking, upon whom the attention of the whole nation is focused, must strive especially hard so as to be praiseworthy examples to all the people of our country.

To return to my subject: What, after all, are the amusements encouraged by the New Life Movement? We must realize that the most important condition of real recreation is that it shall drive away the fatigue caused by our day's work, enliven our spirits, and produce mental delight. Confucius said: "Find pleasure in the arts." This simple precept suggests what are the most rational forms of amusement. By the word "arts" is meant the "Six Arts" of the ancients: rites, music, archery, driving, calligraphy, and mathematics. These were taught to the people in ancient times as ways of amusement and recreation. How full of interest were these pleasures of our forefathers! In the outline of the New Life Movement you will find the following: "The Six Arts of ancient China have been employed by all the great modern nations of both East and West in the programs of social reconstruction." The forms of recreation advocated today by the New Life Movement are not new but are based upon those of ancient China.

The music which is available to all today, through the radio, the phonograph, community singing, glee clubs, and various con-

certs, corresponds to the music of the ancients. Music, if it is of the right kind, refreshes the body and inspires the soul.

Present-day athletics correspond to ancient archery and driving. Young people today may participate in various ball games, or may skate and swim, while older people may practice various forms of gymnastics. Excursions and picnics may also be enjoyed on suitable occasions.

Calligraphy and mathematics find a modern parallel in various sciences and arts. Fundamentally there is little difference between the old and the new. Chess playing, drawing, painting, may also be included in the above. Moreover, there are many modern books and periodicals, in both Chinese and foreign languages, which can cultivate literary tastes and widen mental horizons, and which appeal to varied intellectual interests. One may always invite one's friends and colleagues to study together, to exchange ideas and opinions, and to discuss what each has learned. Such forms of recreation, whether by individuals, families, or larger groups, can be enjoyed at any time and in any place. Whether indulged in for the sake of pleasurable sights or sounds, or to strengthen the body, or to increase knowledge, they not only furnish delight at the time, but also lay the foundation for future development. Since such pleasures have a hundred advantages and not a single drawback, why do we hesitate to enjoy them? A popular saying now is: In all your recreation do not forget your duty to your country. Such amusements as I have described are not contradictory to the principle of serving and saving our country.

The whole nation is concentrating on two objectives: the successful termination of the war, and the successful achievement of national reconstruction. The situation before us is still critical and full of danger; the threat of a destroyed nation and an exterminated race still stares us in the face. If we are to avert such a disaster, repel aggression, and complete the task of national reconstruction, we have no other way but to unite our four hundred million countrymen in one mind and purpose and through suffering and sacrifice to strengthen our manpower and our material resources. We must reach the state in which there is no idle person, no wasted time, no barren land, no unutilized substance, for only then shall we have

sufficient manpower and resources to prolong our resistance and secure ultimate victory.

At the same time, we must realize that when this terrible ordeal is over and victory is at last won, much of our constructive work for the welfare of the people will have been swept away. The difficulties of the post-war period will be more serious than the difficulties of wartime. Let us early resolve to struggle and sacrifice to the limit and then hope of national reconstruction will be realized. Our recreations must be in harmony with this purpose. We must not only prohibit amusements that tend to waste our time, energy, and substance, but we must positively encourage all kinds of wholesome recreation for young and old, men and women, in order to stimulate and refresh the lives of individuals and increase the total of creative production. Amusements must conform to our objectives of resistance and national reconstruction, and must not be in the least extravagant.

Tomorrow will be the twenty-eighth New Year's Day of the Republic of China. I earnestly hope that all our fellow-countrymen will arouse themselves, improve their ways of living, let bad habits go with the old year, and start the New Year with a new life that is positive, progressive, rational, disciplined, and active, a new life that will bring about the strengthening of the nation's foundations, the enrichment of the people's livelihood, the realization of the Three Principles of the People, and the success of the national revolution.

On this occasion let me wish all our comrades, here in this audience and throughout the country, a Happy New Year!

Responsibility of Local Leaders

A telegraphic message sent to gentry and educators throughout the nation on January 19, 1939.

JANUARY 19, 1939.

OUR war of defense has entered a final stage. Whether we are victorious or are defeated, whether our nation lives or dies depends upon the morale of our people and their will to endure, and even more upon the measure of responsibility which the respected leaders of every district, town, and village are willing to shoulder at this critical time.

For thousands of years, loyalty and filial devotion have been regarded as the foundation of national morality and of individual character. These principles are so deeply rooted in the hearts of all our people that those who observe them are honored, while those who violate them are condemned even by their own flesh and blood. The virtues of loyalty and filial devotion were preached and practiced with such zeal by our great sages and by our ancestors that they have become strong social habits, and have been the means of training our people, unifying our ideas, and preserving our race.

When our *Tsungli* (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) interpreted Chinese morality, he singled out loyalty and filial devotion as the cardinal virtues. Today we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a cruel foe. We cannot hope to revive our nation and save our race unless everyone is loyal to his fatherland and devoted to his fellow-countrymen. There is an old saying that the grass bends when the wind blows, and another to the effect that a task will be done when there is someone to begin it. A great project cannot be completed without the efforts of many, but its initiation and promotion belong to the wise and the brave. If we fail to arouse ourselves, if we neglect to follow in the footsteps of our fathers, if we refuse to devote ourselves to our country, if we make no effort to protect our nation and preserve our glorious heritage, then our children will be oppressed and enslaved by our enemy and we shall be disloyal and

unfilial, disgraced before our ancestors, and despised by all mankind. Let all wise and progressive leaders throughout our nation remember that this is the hour which decides whether we are to be masters or slaves.

During the course of his invasion, our enemy has inflicted the harshest cruelties upon our people. From north to south, from east to west, wherever he has gone, he has killed, raped, burned and plundered, spread narcotics, and destroyed productive enterprises. From all this we can clearly see his evil ambition to destroy our nation and annihilate our race. Fortunately, from the beginning of the war, our soldiers and people have understood the real meaning of loyalty and filial devotion. They have sworn to resist the aggressors by sacrificing their lives in battle, by contributing their property and money to the war chest, and by doing all they can to increase production in order to compensate for the losses caused by war. Consequently, we have been able to carry on the fight for nineteen months with undaunted courage and unshaken purpose. The further the enemy penetrates into our interior, the deeper he sinks into a quagmire from which he can neither advance nor retreat. The serious developments in the international field and the increasing danger of economic breakdown in Japan fill him with alarm and inspire in him a fear of ultimate failure. The situation has been developing just as we anticipated in the beginning. We are drawing slowly but surely nearer to victory.

Looking at the matter from another angle, it is evident that the enemy, realizing his perilous condition, will make a last desperate struggle to accomplish his designs. At this critical juncture, if we relax our efforts even a little, we shall not only lose all that we have gained but we shall meet with immediate disaster. If we see the danger clearly and stiffen our resistance, we shall be able to frustrate the enemy's schemes and, relying upon our vast territory and unlimited manpower, bring about the renaissance of our nation and race. At a time when the destiny of our country is in the balance, it is the duty of all, especially the gentry and educators, to serve their fatherland to the very limit of their ability.

The National Government, and all local governments, should work hard and work quickly to strengthen our manpower and develop our resources for effective resistance. It is my earnest hope

RESPONSIBILITY OF LOCAL LEADERS

that the gentry and intellectuals will all do their utmost to serve the nation and guide the people, making up for any lack or neglect on the part of the Government and hastening the accomplishment of our great task. The two most important ways in which they can help are:

1. They can co-operate with the Government in enforcing conscription, so that our armies may always be kept up to full strength. They can tell the people about the barbaric behavior of the enemy troops and show them the relation between the conscription program and the winning of the war. They can strengthen the people's will to resist so that they will gladly join the army. They can aid the local authorities in the drawing of lots, in punishing those who try to evade the draft, and in encouraging those who enter the ranks. By comforting the families of those who fight, they can relieve the minds of soldiers of all anxiety for their dependents. At the same time, they should see to it that members of their own families of military age join the colors or enter a military academy, whether they have been conscripted or not. By setting an example to others, they will promote the system of conscription and will stimulate voluntary enlistment. The soldiers at the front will greatly increase in numbers, and victory will be more certain. Furthermore, after conscription is firmly established, the old recruiting system will be abolished. The new system will help in the reconstruction of the nation and in the establishment of peace and security. Those who send members of their families to the battlefield will be honored in history as exemplifying the virtues of loyalty and filial devotion.

2. They can actively develop local economy in order to furnish greater resources for protracted resistance. Modern warfare is a contest between the manpower and resources of the nations involved. The occupation of many of our important cities and the interruption of communication with the outside world have greatly weakened our industry and commerce. It is no longer easy to import manufactured products. Many business men and manufacturers have had to move their capital and equipment to the hinterland. We should take this opportunity to correct our past mistake of concentrating constructive effort in a few cities, and should make a systematic plan for developing the economic life of the interior. This

will enable us on the one hand to produce sufficient military supplies, and on the other to lay the foundation for sufficiency. We shall expect the gentry and educators to give earnest attention to such problems as the reclamation of waste land, reafforestation, animal husbandry, the improvement of agriculture, and the increased production of raw materials. They should assist the Government in directing local affairs, in seeking capital for investment, and in guiding the people according to the principles of co-operation and division of labor. The Government will certainly do its part. Small handicraft industries, which have prospered in the past because they can more easily obtain raw materials, are practical in operation, and obtain quick results, should be encouraged by the granting of more capital, by the improvement of methods used, by the increase of production, and by the enlargement of markets. The gentry and educators should do all they can to improve the living conditions of the people and to provide for the needs of the army in wartime.

I have already pointed out that the success of our resistance depends upon our having no idle persons, no uncultivated land, no wasted time, and no undeveloped resources. However, the achievement of these four goals must begin with the development of local economy, the increase of agricultural production, and the enthusiastic support of handicraft industries. I firmly believe that our economic system, with its abundant resources and unlimited man power, can, if it is well organized and skillfully directed, deal a fatal blow to the enemy.

Since the outbreak of the war year before last, the enemy's standards of conscription have been lowered again and again until now many who are physically unfit must be taken. The total war debt of Japan amounts to about Yen 9,000,000,000, which does not include the money raised by extra levies and offer-gold-to-the-state drives. The financial burdens of our people are much lighter than those of the Japanese people even though we are the victims of aggression. Our country has so far demanded very little of its citizens. I trust that our enlightened and progressive local leaders, imbued with the traditional Chinese spirit of loyalty and filial devotion, will set a good example to all the people in the faithful discharge of their duties.

Furthermore, while thousands of our soldiers are giving up

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their lives on the battlefields, the millions who still live in the occupied areas should be spiritually mobilized and should share in the life and struggle of the nation, proving to the enemy that our people on both sides of the fighting lines are one in their will to resist.

With regard to the prohibition of opium, gambling, licentious behavior, and idleness, we hope that the gentry and educators everywhere will provide a good example, will create public opinion against these evils, and will help the Government to eradicate them. By so doing, they will not only reform local customs but they will also indirectly strengthen our power of resistance. There is no instance in history of a country becoming great and prosperous when its social life is corrupt. There is no possibility of improvement in social morality without the aid of a moral minority. Having been entrusted by our people with the responsibility of directing this war, I daily strive with all my might to accomplish the double task of winning military victory and of rebuilding the nation. In spirit and purpose I am constantly with you, the leaders of the people. Our stupendous and difficult mission cannot possibly be carried out by any one man, but only by many able and devoted leaders all over the country, each working in his own field of service and all united with one heart and purpose to make the fullest and best use of our country's great manpower and resources. I believe that you will be such leaders, laboring to the limit of your strength, developing all your latent possibilities, and fulfilling all our high expectations of you.

As to your local conditions, whether good or bad, and the problems of the people's livelihood, I urge you to report them to me. Your suggestions will be gladly received and given prompt attention.

This message is too short to cover all I wish to say to you. However, I trust that each of you will grasp every opportunity for service that appears, giving to your country the best you have, so as to bring about the successful termination of our resistance and the renaissance of our nation.

China Cannot Be Conquered

A speech delivered at the opening of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), held in Chungking on January 26, 1939.

JANUARY 26, 1939.

COMRADES: This assembly meets as we enter upon the second stage in our War of Resistance. It is, therefore, an especially significant session and lays heavy responsibilities upon us. As I have repeatedly pointed out, our war may be divided into two periods. During the first period, which ended with the fall of Canton and Wuhan, we tried to wear down the enemy's strength and, at the same time, to protect our rear so that solid foundations might be laid for the second period of protracted resistance. We had to prepare for the military strategy and political policy of the present stage.

Our present task is to build upon the accomplishments of the first stage, to carry out the plans we have formed for the second stage and to concentrate our efforts upon victory and reconstruction. We are now turning defense into attack, and defeat into victory. What we now do will determine the survival or the ruin, the rise or the fall, of our nation. Our business at this momentous session is, therefore, to review the past and, facing the realities of the present, to fix our future course with courage and determination.

The morale of our army and of our people is higher than at any previous time. The situation within and without the country is increasingly favorable. Our fellow-countrymen believe that the nation has passed its most serious crisis. They are full of optimism and confident of victory. This means that our Party is charged with greater responsibilities and a more urgent mission than ever before. We must concern ourselves more earnestly with the nation's future, and seek out the very best courses to follow. All our actions must be measured by their revolutionary spirit. If we are filled

with a revolutionary determination to resist, then ways and means can be found. Our revolution, advancing along the road of the Three Principles of the People, has proved that simplicity can overcome subtlety and that the ill-provided can defeat the well-supplied.

If we can fight on with the same spirit of sacrifice which we showed in the first period of resistance and if we can bring our minds to bear upon the situation with even greater discernment, then there can be no doubt as to the issue of the struggle. Otherwise—if our actions fail to keep pace with our knowledge, if we exert ourselves but half-heartedly and fall by the way when but half the task is done, if we are concerned more with superficial forms than inner realities, if our hopes are not accompanied by definite plans, or if when we make plans we lack the courage to carry them out, if we constantly pass by good opportunities for action—no subsequent good fortune can possibly atone for our failures. Whether our cause succeeds or fails depends upon our revolutionary spirit, upon our resoluteness and our faith. Only with an inflexible purpose can we make effective plans and execute them in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles and dangers. Therefore, the first thing I ask of you, my comrades, is an unshakable faith and an indomitable purpose. Such determination and faith are born only out of a sound knowledge and clear understanding of the aims of our resistance and of the whole war situation. Knowledge and understanding will give us a rationally informed, not merely impulsive, enthusiasm and will establish our faith upon a sure foundation.

We are fighting this war for our own national existence and for freedom to follow the course of national revolution laid down for us in the Three Principles of the People. We are fighting an enemy who would deny us not only our freedom but our very life, an enemy with whom we cannot compromise without bringing utter ruin upon our nation. Only resistance can preserve us from national slavery. Only resistance can save the world from the collapse of international morality and the breakdown of all guarantees of peace. Dr. Sun Yat-sen devoted his life to the movement for the salvation of his country and at the same time of the world. All that he planned and achieved our enemy would throw to the winds. Since the Japanese Government and Premier Konoye issued their statement (in December, 1938) the world has clearly perceived

Japan's ambition to monopolize the Pacific from the vantage point of a conquered China and eventually to dominate the world. But let me assure you, our enemy is even now defeated and will in the end be involved in absolute ruin. We have only to fight on and victory will certainly be ours. To the enemy, eighteen months of war have meant the loss on all battlefields of over 700,000 men and military expenditures of nine billion Yen. His country is being impoverished, his agricultural and industrial development is being retarded, his political stability is threatened by unrest. Since he launched his attack upon us, his military and political strategy, his ideas and calculations regarding us, his understanding of contemporary events have all been based on fundamentally false assumptions and consequently he has sunk deeper and deeper into error.

As we face the road leading to victory or defeat, national survival or death, I feel it my duty to put before the assembly a detailed statement, illustrated by facts, of the reasons why our enemy will surely be defeated. In the first place, as you all know, his present campaign of aggression is an attempt to carry out his long-cherished continental policy. According to this policy, he would gradually occupy all of China from the north southwards, and then from China as a base he would dominate the Orient and extend his control over the entire world. But his precipitate and premature invasion of China Proper ran directly counter to the prepared strategy of the Continental Plan. It not only placed him in a dilemma regarding future moves but has also forced him to show his hand in Central and South China. He came to a point where he could not advance further without arousing the enmity of other Powers. To military embarrassment was added diplomatic anxiety.

Secondly, his scheme for defeating us depended primarily upon our yielding without resistance. He did not expect us to fight as we have fought. As he pushed his way step by step inland his hopes of a short war and quick victory vanished and he sought instead an immediate peace.

Before we withdrew from Wuhan the enemy's press echoed loudly the wish of the Japanese Government to bring an end to hostilities or to bring about a truce. Meanwhile, the enemy tried all sorts of tricks to lure us into the trap and to deceive the world, and finally resorted to such ill-conceived schemes as the establishment

of a so-called "Asia Development Bureau" and the promotion of so-called "collaboration in East Asia." But today not only our own people but the people of the whole world are fully aware of Japan's true motives. Herein lies Japan's second failure.

In the third place, Japan's military strategy has failed. Japan has not only gone contrary to three fundamental military principles but has also made three serious military blunders. First, without accurate appraisal of their own strength or of their opponent's strength, the Japanese did not dream that we could resist for eighteen months and still gain in strength. Nor did they calculate that after a certain stage Japan would have to forfeit five soldiers to China's one. Secondly, they have relied too much on good fortune to win, and have disregarded the fundamental principle that victory is achieved by swift and agile movement of troops. Internal political upheavals, the growth of anti-war feeling, and the collapse of Konoye's boasted war cabinet prove the truth of Sun Tzu's* famous saying, "A prolonged military campaign is disadvantageous to the state." Thirdly, the old caution against "massing a big force in the enemy's interior" was originally intended as advice to the stronger party. And yet the Japanese troops have advanced recklessly some hundreds of miles into China's hinterland. The occupied areas have become fields of activity for our regular and guerrilla forces. Subjected to repeated thrusts and harassing assaults, the Japanese forces find themselves in a position where advance and retreat are equally dangerous. They have become, in the words of Sun Tzu, "an army with fighting edge dulled by failing strength and exhaustion of supplies." They are face to face with the critical moment when, as the same writer puts it, "opponents are awaiting their collapse to attack them." The enemy is now "suspended in mid air," out of touch with both earth and sky. He has reached the point where "having failed to win he can hardly return." This state of affairs shows most clearly the failure of the Japanese military strategy.

Fourthly, Japan has failed politically. The Japanese have been able to utilize as puppets only rascals, outlaws, and other undesirable

*Sun Tzu, who lived during the stirring times of the Seven Warring Kingdoms (*circa* 350 B.C.), has always been regarded as one of China's most able strategists. His book, *Military Strategy*, is studied in China's present-day military academies.

elements of the Chinese population. By so doing they simply corrupt their own army and expose their knavery and stupidity to the ridicule of the world. Not sensing their weakness they vainly seek to absorb China's ancient and independent civilization into their hodge-podge of a civilization. They have tried to possess themselves of our economic resources by military force and political aggression. The result, however, has been directly contrary to their expectations. They have failed to achieve their objective and have intensified rebellious sentiment at home.

Japan, while aiming to ease her diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, has merely betrayed her own fears. Seeking to establish cordial understanding with the United States, she has succeeded only in arousing resentment. Aspiring to break the British, American, and French front, she has only contributed to its solidarity. Mis-carriage of plans and inconsistency of action everywhere! If a course of action is wrong in its fundamental beginnings, what follows cannot but be wrong.

Fifthly, Japan has failed to realize the mighty power of our national resistance, the irresistible growth of our national spirit, and the true significance of our national history. The Japanese blindly hold that China can be tricked and subdued as she was by the Khitans and the Chin at the time of the Sung Dynasty, by the Mongols of the Yuan Dynasty, and by the Manchus of the Tsing Dynasty. They do not understand the reasons for China's subjection in those times. They do not realize that it was the weakness of a few officials which brought about the submission of the government, a thing that should not be confused with the surrender of a whole nation. Today the Japanese cry, "Build a new order in East Asia," and expect in a short time to rule over all China. They forget that it has taken them more than forty years, a huge army, and vast expenditures to get even a tenuous hold upon our Northeastern Provinces. They refuse to take warning from past experiences, and now foolishly overstretch themselves to conquer the whole of China. Again they will fail.

Japan fails because she does not understand the characteristics of our race, the force of the Three Principles enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the temper of our Government, the signs of the times, and China's revolutionary military strategy and tactics. When

Napoleon was attacking Imperial Russia, the strategy of all-front and prolonged resistance was not known. But even with his remarkable military genius and huge armies Napoleon was not able to avert defeat. How can Japan possibly succeed against republican China with its new and fervent national spirit? United against a common enemy and under the guidance of the National Government, our people have been able to carry out modern revolutionary military tactics, and no armed force can subdue us. Sun Tzu, in his treatise on topography, outlines the three military principles of knowing "where the enemy cannot be attacked, where one's own troops cannot attack, and upon what ground a battle cannot be fought." I would state Sun Tzu's principles thus, "Know where the enemy can be attacked, know where one's forces can attack, and know upon what ground a battle can be fought," and add, "Unless one knows the right time to attack it is useless to expect victory." Our enemy does not know whom he is attacking and he also does not know when to attack. For all these reasons Japan will unquestionably fail to conquer China.

In the first period of the war, when battles were being fought in areas with good communications, the Japanese were able to make full use of their land, sea, and air forces, and mechanized units. And yet after eighteen months our enemy has utterly failed to subdue us while we have gained in experience and strength. From now on, in the second period of resistance, when the war is carried into difficult terrain, the enemy is bound to face increasing military hardships in maintaining communications and in securing food supplies.

Furthermore, it is well-known that Japan has already sent to China eighty-five per cent of her total army strength. Originally, Japan intended to use thirty per cent of her army against China and keep the other seventy per cent in reserve in case of war against Soviet Russia. Not only has Japan used more than twice the force originally set aside against China, but the casualties sustained by her invading forces have exceeded thirty per cent of her total military strength. Comparing our position from now on with that of the enemy, I may say that, in view of the experience we have gained in the past eighteen months, Japan will need to use at least three men in the field to our one, and spend at least three rounds of

ammunition to our one. Therefore, if we do not provide the enemy with an opportunity whereby he may take advantage of us, our final victory is assured.

How would we give the enemy an opportunity? By allowing our spirit to be cowed, by letting our resolution to be shaken, by yielding of our own will, or by seeking a hurried compromise. The enemy hopes desperately that we will do these things and give him a chance to escape from an otherwise inextricable position. Hence, if we prolong our resistance we are bound to win; but if we weaken and compromise, then the enemy is certain to take full advantage of our position and impose upon us the most humiliating terms. If we should reach that stage our nation would, under the "new order in East Asia," simply cease to exist and we should all become slaves.

From what I have said you can clearly see how Japan has worked her own ruin and has sealed her own doom. If Japan should emerge victorious in the present hostilities, then all existing military theories and principles of military strategy would be disproved. I will go further and say that all scientific theories and fundamental principles of cause and effect would be proven wrong. Knowing that the enemy will try every possible method to coerce and allure us into submission, we must be more strongly fixed than ever in our determination to resist. We must allow the enemy neither to overawe our spirit nor to deceive us by his cunning. We must fight to the end not only to upset the enemy's plan of a quick victory but also to prevent him from gaining a premature peace. This is now our only strategy; and it is the key to our victory and to Japan's defeat.

Comrades, after eighteen months as the responsible Commander-in-Chief of our fighting forces, I have reached the following solemn conclusion. I commend it to your special consideration. You should instruct our people to take lessons from the annals of the Sung and Ming Dynasties. The fall of these two dynasties was not caused by outside enemies with a superior force, but by a dispirited and cowardly minority in the governing class and the society of the time. Today the morale of our people is excellent; the foundation of our revolution is deep and strong; and the Three Principles of the People give us a charter of liberty in harmony with the spirit of the modern age. If we do not destroy ourselves, no outside force can destroy us.

The situation that faces us is plain. Our enemy is bound to marshal all his offensive resources in another desperate attempt at victory. Our policy is simple and clear. Since the beginning of the second period of resistance we have been using revolutionary strategy and tactics to weaken the morale of the enemy and exhaust his strength and so to hasten his final collapse.

I wish to add another word of warning. To seek compromise and peace now is equivalent to entering a trap or committing suicide. We should realize that what ex-Premier Konoye proposed on December 22, under the guise of adjusting international relations in the Far East, was not terms for discussing an equitable peace but merely a piece of verbal trickery designed to bring about our submission. To discuss peace on those terms is tantamount to surrender. We have fought for more than a year and a half; but although sacrifices have been immense, our strength increases with the progress of the war. We can take only one road now: to be worthy of our ancestors and parents, to be worthy of our heroes and martyrs in this war, to be worthy of our descendants, to be worthy of ourselves, we must set our faces resolutely against any form of surrender. We must fight on until we reach our goal. To submit is to court death while we live. To fight is to find life even though we die.

It is certain that our enemy will fail. It is just as certain that we shall succeed. Sun Tzu says, "In the beginning make it impossible for the enemy to win and then await the time for the enemy to be defeated." To keep the enemy from winning we must, of course, shed our blood and exert ourselves to the utmost. Judging from our history, geography, civilization, economics, and national spirit, as well as the facts of the recent past, I dare to declare that our enemy has no way of overcoming us. If we combine strenuous human effort with our national advantages there is no doubt that we can defeat the invaders.

Speaking of history, I have already said that the downfall of the Sung and Ming Dynasties was that of the ruling families and not the extinction of the entire Chinese race. In more than five thousand years our race has never been really conquered and has most certainly never been exterminated. Furthermore, the dynastic downfalls were due to the cowardice, ignorance, lack of

integrity, and selfishness of a small number of corrupt officials. The happiness and welfare of the common people did not concern them. During those despotic regimes a great gap existed between the government authorities and the common people. There were no ways by which the authorities could mobilize the power of resistance residing in the people. Yet, as a matter of fact, the spirit of the nation as a whole did not suffer from outside oppression and the people steadily opposed aggression. After an interval of two or three hundred years, the aggressors would be driven out and the nation's territory would be recovered.

Our present Government, which is republican in form and revolutionary in spirit and which fights for the welfare of the nation and the people, has a far greater chance of expelling the invader. Our Government is fully aware of its responsibilities and intends to complete the revolution and carry out the Three Principles of the People. It has no fear of bullying aggressors. Our resistance is a united effort of Government and people. Sun Tzu says, "A virtuous government has the support of the people; it can command life or death from the people without exciting fear or complaint." Concord between Government and people is the first essential to victory.

In our present struggle against Japan we have been able to live up to this high principle. The hearts of our people are absolutely united. Under the guidance of the Government even the old and the weak, the women and the children, are conscious of the necessity of defending themselves against the enemy and of obeying implicitly the orders of the High Command. Indeed, their spirit is such that they are willing to lay down their lives without a murmur. No one will barter his national birthright for slavery to Japan. The barbarism of the Japanese has everywhere aroused the spirit voiced in our ancient saying, "Prefer death to disgrace." Judging from the history of the past and the national consciousness and strong morale of our people today, China cannot be conquered.

From the geographical point of view, our country possesses natural advantages for defense. Our ancestors, two thousand years ago, took advantage of the mountainous terrain in constructing the Great Wall. From east to west our country extends through more

than sixty-five degrees of longitude. From north to south it includes the climates of the frigid, temperate, and torrid zones. In any discussion of military success or failure we have always considered topography and climate of great importance. Rivers, mountains, and deserts abound in our interior and in the west; arctic cold alternates with tropical heat. Invaders in the past have succeeded only in holding a part of our country for a limited time. They have never permanently controlled the whole of our country for a long time. Even in the Yuan and Tsing Dynasties, when the strongest forces attempted to conquer us, they were able to occupy only certain strategic points and the spirit of resistance among the people was not crushed. Today a nation of only 70,000,000 people thinks it can absorb a nation with six times its population and with a far older history and civilization. What a mad dream! Topography and climate are again combining against China's invaders. No weapon in the world will be effective against this combination, reinforced by the firm determination and mighty strength of our people. Geographically, our country cannot be conquered.

China is the only nation in the Far East with an independent cultural achievement. This is borne out by history. Chinese civilization has been adopted by other peoples, but no alien civilization has ever succeeded in replacing China's own. China's civilization is imbued with a peculiar spirit. I need not amplify this point. It is only necessary to recall the heroic behavior of our people in face of the enemy to realize the deep roots of our civilization. Japan is now trying with her mongrel civilization, of neither the East nor the West, to destroy our racial spirit. But she has met with repeated failures in the occupied areas. If we are united at heart, and if we struggle with determination, the spirit of our people will be further strengthened. This resistance will infuse into our civilization a new splendor and power. Our civilization and our racial spirit can never be conquered or destroyed.

Economically we have the advantage. Modern wars usually arise out of economic conflicts and the outcome is determined by the economic strength and resources of the belligerents. China is essentially an agricultural country. Aggression descended upon us while we were in the period of national reconstruction. At first this seemed a major crisis, yet during the eighteen months of hos-

tilities our financial structure has not been seriously injured, our currency has remained steady, and the livelihood of the people in the rear has been little affected. Owing to the excellent harvests in several provinces last year and the campaign of thrift, there are signs of plenty among our people. This is possible because we are an agricultural nation and strong in endurance, whereas industrial nations suffer more quickly from the consequences of war.

I am confident that our wartime economy will encounter no serious difficulty in this second period of our resistance. In the Southwest and Northwest, bases of our resistance, we are rapidly introducing national defense industries and light industries, and are developing our mineral and lumber resources. We are mobilizing the nation's technical skill and capital, and are laying a sound and permanent foundation for our national economic life. Neither our military forces nor our people will be in want. Our enemy has not reckoned with our endurance as an agricultural nation, which will be a prime factor contributing to his defeat. Economically, China is capable of protracted resistance and cannot be conquered.

In prosecuting a modern war, it is essential not only to have a thorough knowledge of the enemy and of oneself, but also to understand the trend of international developments. Our enemy has failed to realize not only his own weakness and China's strength but also the current international situation.

The international situation during the past year has been fraught with grave dangers, but the main undercurrent has been in the direction of maintaining international obligations and world peace. Although the influential democratic states of Europe and America have been exceedingly cautious in dealing with the changing situation, their peoples have become steadily bolder in denouncing aggression and advocating justice. Their statesmen are doing all within their power to ease the international situation, while at the same time they are strengthening their national defenses. From all angles we can see that they are resolved to check aggression and maintain world peace. Signs of such a policy are even more apparent of late.

Since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 we have seen clearly that the only road upon which all mankind can march together is the road of justice and righteousness. A nation that aspires to

become strong and independent cannot allow itself to be checked by temporary hardships and sacrifices. In the course of time it is bound to earn the sympathy and co-operation of other just nations. The international developments of the past seven years have fully borne out our judgment. We claim no prescience; we have only maintained the position held by our revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen: to save our country is also to save the world. Our judgment has been guided by principle.

Dr. Sun often said that after China had recovered her independent national status she would have a large responsibility to the world. In his addresses on Nationalism and on other occasions, Dr. Sun frequently declared, "China is the pillar of the Far East and the largest country in Asia; when China is strong, her four neighbors will be safe and on cordial terms with each other, and the surrounding races can retain their independence and share peace and happiness." Dr. Sun pointed out also that "China has never attempted by economic weapons to oppress other races . . . China's aspirations for peace were fully evolved even at the time of the Han Dynasty." We do not oppress the weak and we do not bow before tyranny. We favor mutual assistance and we seek to strengthen ourselves. Dr. Sun further observed, "China had been strong for several thousand years without affecting the existence of Korea; but Korea was annexed after Japan had been strong for only twenty years." China's traditional policy has been to aid the weak and to support the falling, to live and to let live. Our national revolution is reinforcing our own historic love of justice and peace and is hastening the advent of enduring security and happiness for all mankind.

At the conclusion of the World War Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote his "Program of National Reconstruction" with a view to modernizing China's productive enterprises. He had in view also the provision of a good outlet for the world's capital, machinery, and technical skill so that mankind might not degenerate into another bitter strife over raw materials and markets. Alas, this noble plan of helping ourselves and the world could not be carried out. Taking advantage of tension in Europe, Japan intensified her aggression on China. After the Manchurian crisis we were patient because we desired peace, but the enemy persisted in aggression. He did not know

that we were coming into a day of self-determination and self-government for all peoples. Smaller peoples and weaker races were seeking independence and the Great Powers were beginning to change their attitudes and policies. Yet Japan continued to think that she could conquer China. After the Tangku Truce* our national life was already at a low ebb, but Japan kept on striking. She created incidents and finally occupied Peiping and Tientsin. Not allowed to preserve even the minimum requirements of national life, we saw that it was futile to seek existence under conditions which would mean death and extinction. There was no choice for us but to fight for life.

It was said of old that when two armies meet, the army more gravely concerned will win. When our resistance was launched there was no other alternative before us. Our people as well as our soldiers were inspired by anguish and indignation. Never before in the world's history has an army been made up of such indignant and determined soldiers. Our armed resistance was launched not only to safeguard our own national existence but also to maintain world peace and international good faith. Our war is in every sense a "righteous war," while the aggressive campaign of our enemy is nothing but a "war of outrage."

We saw clearly when we began our resistance that our sacrifices and hardships might be even tenfold or a hundredfold greater than what we had yet undergone. But now that we have taken this sacred duty upon our shoulders, we must, no matter what the cost, complete our task of national revolution, check the evil forces of aggression, and restore the efficacy of international commitments. To strengthen the cause of justice and righteousness in the world we must demonstrate that brute force and violence do not avail. By our resistance we can help to change the war mind of mankind and to ensure permanent peace for the world of tomorrow.

Comrades, you must know that before our resistance began

*The Tangku Truce of May 31, 1933, was concluded for the suspension of hostilities which, resulting from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Jehol, had extended into Peiping and Tientsin areas. Both China and Japan undertook to withdraw their troops, the Chinese from the territory between the Great Wall and the Peiping Area; the Japanese to the Great Wall. Japan secured two groups of privileges in her favor, including the use of airplanes or other means to see that China fulfilled her conditions, and the prohibition of anti-Japanese agitation in general in China.

our country was regarded by the world as weaker than a third-rate Power. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in holding Japan, a first-class Power, for more than a year and a half without being overcome. We must be ready to encounter more difficulties but we need no longer be frightened by our brutal enemy. Having entered this second period of resistance we believe that the military operations will daily turn in our favor. The only question is whether we have the strength of will to continue resistance, and whether our unity and determination will increase with every day of the struggle.

Comrades, from what I have said you will realize our own power. You will recognize the enemy's military strategy and political policy. You will understand the other factors at work in the changing situation. You will appreciate the reasons that determine success or failure. Courage is born of wisdom. If we see clearly the meaning and purpose of our struggle we will have a faith and courage that cannot be vanquished.

The war has now entered its second phase. There is no use denying the fact that we have lost much territory and most of our communication lines. We have sacrificed heavily the lives and wealth of our fellow-countrymen, and have abandoned vast material properties and resources. But we should realize that any revolutionary work must begin from the ground up. From now on we should base our calculations on the land, the manpower, the military strength, and the financial resources that we yet possess. Let us recover the spirit that stirred our revolutionary forbears to combat alien rule with little more than their bare hands. Let us learn to plan from small, lowly and hard beginnings and, having made our plans, to carry them out in full, giving to the task our whole time and strength and our very life blood.

Our enemy is now saying that the present conflict may become another Hundred Years' War. We maintain that resistance and national reconstruction have no time limit. If we do not succeed in five years, we shall go on for ten years, or even a hundred years. We shall not stop until our objective is achieved.

We must now direct our efforts in line with our understanding of the enemy's situation. Our enemy today is in the state of approaching collapse described by Sun Tzu "when the people disregard the anger of their authorities, when soldiers fight among

themselves in front of their foes, and when all are losing confidence in their own strength." Knowing this we should reinforce our own unity and concentrate our own efforts to take advantage of the enemy's confusion. We know that during the hostilities many of Japan's industries have been rendered inactive and that the weaknesses in Japan's economic structure have daily become more apparent. We should call upon our peculiar strength as an agricultural country and, by our own thrift, industry, and ability to endure hardship, aggravate Japan's weakness.

As an industrial nation, we are aware too that Japan's main object is to destroy our national economic foundation. Hence, we should strengthen our constructive wartime enterprises, building up our own strength for long-term resistance and hastening the break-up of Japan's social order. The people of Japan, who have been driven by their rulers to war, are also experiencing other trials. Since last year Japan has been afflicted by many kinds of natural disasters, such as storms and earthquakes. Let us make the best use of all the natural advantages of soil and climate that have been given to us, let us increase our own agricultural production, and let us not bring upon our people any unnecessary hardships such as the people of Japan are forced to bear. The Japanese people are suffering more and more and anti-war feeling is rising rapidly. Let us earnestly endeavor to carry out the Three Principles of the People and in this way show our superiority to the enemy country which disregards the sufferings of its own people as well as of other peoples. With spiritual force we can overcome material forces; with industry we can remedy our lack of supplies; with redoubled efforts we can make up for our past mistakes; with firm determination and confidence in victory we can offset our shortage of modern armaments.

These are heavy responsibilities to the nation and toward the Revolution which we, members of the Kuomintang, must recognize and assume. It has not been an easy thing for us to gather here in the tense atmosphere of war. We should therefore make the very best use of our time. We should formulate and define the policy and program for the second period of resistance. Before the picture here of our revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, let us make a solemn pledge that we will do our duty, fight to the end,

abide by the Party's decisions, observe Party discipline, strengthen the Party's foundations, and carry out the Party's mission. Let us not worry about the difficulties of resistance, but let us examine ourselves again and again to see whether or not we are fully discharging our responsibilities.

Never has an independent and strong revolutionary party failed to accomplish its object. Never have a people with a long history, great territory, large population, and advanced culture failed to achieve independence, equality, and freedom.

Remember, "to know is difficult, but when we know, to act is easy." Remember that we can save our nation only by our own efforts. If we can act, and act quickly, bravely, forcefully, and effectively, then nothing can prevent our final success. Today, I earnestly and sincerely wish this assembly a successful session and the accomplishment of our great revolutionary task of resistance and national reconstruction.

Reply to Tribute from Oxford

A group of heads of colleges and professors in Oxford University, England, sent in January, 1939, a letter to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek expressing their "profound admiration for you, the head and font of the gallant resistance which the Chinese people are making to the invaders of your country and the enemies of your freedom." Generalissimo Chiang's reply was sent from his Headquarters in Chungking. The translation here used is that published in the Manchester Guardian of March 25, 1939.

FEBRUARY 3, 1939.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I SET a peculiarly high value upon your letter, since it is the spontaneous and unstudied expression of high-minded thought and feeling springing from deep places in your hearts. I shall endeavor to acknowledge it in language of a like simplicity and sincerity.

The reading of your letter removed me in a moment far from the din of war and the grinding tasks that it imposes on us. My response cannot therefore rise to my lips in terms of war or of the politics of war. The language of your letter, "perspicuous with the brightness of sun and moon, far-flung as the courses of the stars," carries me, as it were, into the open. I look up at the boundless firmament of thought that has one face for all men, whether for you scholars in England or for me, a soldier, in China. And then I feel in my heart the moral principles that I believe alone support the order that obtains in those vast spaces.

It is disorder that narrows, hinders, and defeats the mind and all the affairs of man, and the universe itself would dissolve were it not for the Supreme Order that governs it. You allude, ladies and gentlemen, to the culture of my beloved nation. That culture is built upon a profound conception of order. The philosophers

REPLY TO TRIBUTE FROM OXFORD

who have determined the character of our national thought have all held firm to a faith in the order that comes, and comes alone, from obedience to the valid and imperative dictates of the unchanging and universal conscience of man. And it is to bring order out of disorder that we are fighting the present war. I have ever believed that no right-minded and truth-speaking man in the world could fail to recognize our cause as such. Your letter once again confirms me in that belief.

I am deeply grateful to you for words of sympathy and encouragement so widely representative of the mind of your people. But, and I trust you will not regard this as strange, I wish also especially to thank you for diverting my thoughts into sublime courses as I read your letter. For what are efforts to achieve our purposes without constant reflection upon their highest motives and their real sources? Not only are our energies revitalized by intervals of meditation in the midst of action, but we are thus also safeguarded from the ruinous error of headlong designs based on no sound principle.

I am, with the respect that respect engenders, and a gratitude I have not attempted fully to express,

Yours to command,

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Mobilizing Our Spiritual Forces

The opening address at the Third Session of the People's Political Council in Chungking.

FEBRUARY 12, 1939.

TODAY the People's Political Council commences its third session.* At the command of the Government, I have come to discharge my duties as Chairman. As I stand before this body of wise, capable, experienced, and virtuous men and women, I am truly conscious of my own unworthiness. Your patriotism and devotion at this crisis in our national life, and the excellent spirit you have shown in coming long distances to help bear the responsibilities of national defense, all move me deeply. How can I fail to arm myself with the same oneness of heart and purpose and with the same sincerity and loyalty? During this assembly I hope to hear many expressions of your wise judgment and I am ready to strive earnestly with you to complete the double task of resistance and reconstruction.

Although established less than eight months ago, this Council has already made noteworthy contributions to the State. At the two previous sessions you offered numerous constructive suggestions with regard to domestic and foreign affairs. Two things left an indelible impression on my mind. First were the resolutions in support of the Government passed at both sessions. At the first session, the Council adopted the resolution supporting the principles of resistance and national reconstruction; and at the second, the Council decided to support the Government's policy of prolonged warfare. These two resolutions have not only unified the hearts

* The People's Political Council held its first session at Hankow in July, 1938, and its second session in Chungking the following November. The Council was organized because the war had made it impossible for the Chinese Government to convoke the scheduled National People's Assembly and it was necessary to rally the nation's talents for the formulation and enforcement of national policies. The Council has the right to obtain reports from the Government and to question it, as well as to submit proposals to the Government. Its two hundred councilors are drawn from all walks of life. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was Chairman and Dr. Chang Po-ling, President of Nankai University, formerly in Tientsin, Vice-Chairman.

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of our people, reinforced their determination to resist and given greater strength to the Government and the people, but they have also promoted a better understanding of China abroad and have been the means of frustrating the malevolent designs of the enemy to subjugate us through rumors, intrigue, and other invisible weapons. This is a most gratifying result.

In addition to your duties as members of this Council many of you are actually engaged in the work of defense or reconstruction. Both in the war areas and in the rear, many of you have had distinguished records of service at great personal risk and sacrifice. Your activities demonstrate to our people that the councilors can not only make recommendations but also put them into practice. Particularly praiseworthy have been the efforts of those who have gone to the front to study the conditions of our troops, and to bring them comfort and cheer. Though some were wounded, yet they continued with their mission.

Now that our War of Resistance has entered its second phase the responsibility resting upon the Government and the people is heavier than ever before. The responsibility of this Council has correspondingly increased. A foundation for victory was laid in the first period of the war. Now the task before us is to concentrate and develop our strength everywhere, at the front, in the rear, and in the occupied territories, so that we may win the war and succeed in reconstruction. During the first stage, equal emphasis was placed on spiritual and material resources. In this second stage, the spiritual transcends in importance the material. Before we can overcome our difficulties, defeat our enemy, and realize the aims of our war of defense, we must heighten the morale of our people, fortify their determination, and mobilize their spiritual resources.

Since the war entered the second period, the enemy troops have found themselves in an unenviable situation where they can neither advance nor retreat. Every day their position becomes more untenable and they show greater uneasiness. Of late our enemy has been laying greater stress on political maneuverings and all kinds of false propaganda with the hope of disuniting our nation. As a prelude to conquering us he attempts to subdue and weaken our spirit. To frustrate his designs, while continuing our emphasis

upon the military and material aspects of the war, we should devote special attention to the spiritual phases of resistance. We must mobilize not only our manpower and material resources, but also the spiritual forces that have been aroused and organize them for effective service. Then we can proceed to lay a permanent foundation for post-war reconstruction. This is undoubtedly the most stupendous task that has faced this nation since the earliest days of its history.

In deciding to summon a People's Political Council the Emergency Kuomintang Congress last year aimed at centralizing the strength of the whole nation and mobilizing the thinking and the will power of all the people. The greatest contribution made so far by the People's Political Council has been the encouragement of a strong national spirit and the reinforcement of the great traditional virtues of our people. When the influence of this spirit and these virtues reaches every province and every district and penetrates all the fields of culture and economics, the people in all walks of life will rise against the enemy with unshakable determination and with sure confidence in the future of the nation.

At this period of the war, I consider our chief task to be that of invigorating and unifying our own spirit, so that we can lead the spiritual mobilization movement of the whole nation.

In order to mobilize the national spirit it is necessary for all the people to have a common standard of ethics, to share a common faith in the future of the country, and to labor, struggle, and sacrifice for this common standard and faith. What is this common standard of ethics? Nothing but the abandonment of the small self in favor of the large self. What is this common faith? Nothing but the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People), the ultimate goal of which is China's highest political ideal—universal brotherhood.

In the *Book of Rites* it is said, "When the Great Way is followed all under heaven work for the common good. The wise and capable are chosen for office. They speak the truth and cultivate harmony. Men do not limit their filial piety to their own parents nor their parental love to their own children. The aged are provided for until their death, the able-bodied are usefully employed, the young are given the opportunity to grow. Kindness is shown

to the widowed, the orphaned, the childless, and the afflicted. Every man has his work. Every woman has her home. People do not waste, neither do they hoard. They are not content to be idle, yet when they toil it is not simply for their own advantage. Thus selfish schemers do not flourish and robbery and rebellion disappear."

These are the objectives of our program of national regeneration. In their attainment the *San Min Chu I* will find realization and our people will find happiness. Today we are giving of our sweat and blood upon the battlefield, and at the same time we are marshaling all our intellectual forces for reconstruction. In the modern state which Dr. Sun Yat-sen proposed to build, there would reign such universal brotherhood as is described in the *Book of Rites*. The Manifesto of the recent Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang stressed these points: the consolidation of our unity; the dedication of our abilities, our liberties, and our very lives in whole-hearted service to the nation; and the concentration of all the time and strength we possess for spiritual, political, and economic reconstruction.

We have in mind not only the immediate present but also the distant future. Since our ideal is to build a nation wherein "no one works for selfish gain and no one looks upon his body as a private possession, but everyone labors hard, helps others and shares peace and happiness with others," our starting point must be sincerity, harmony, and community of interests. We must strive for a world in which "all will work for the common good." Hence, our efforts must be positive instead of negative. Meanwhile, in order to increase our present strength, we must double our pace in carrying out the various projects of reconstruction.

In its Manifesto the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang expressed the hope that not only members of the Kuomintang but also the entire nation, especially the leaders in various fields, would take up together these plans for reconstruction and turn them quickly into reality. You members of the Council are all leaders in your communities, and are rich in learning and experience. The Government is making a sincere effort to select "wise and capable" citizens who can share with it the responsibilities of the State. It hopes that members of this

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Council will approach every problem in the spirit of truth and harmony and with the mutual trust and confidence that prevails among the members of one family. Then everything can be discussed in a straightforward manner, and forbearance will never be lacking.

We hope that you will be as responsive as possible to public opinion, the growth of which you must help to encourage and express. Tell us what you know and say all that is in your hearts so that between the Government and the people there will be not the slightest barrier but only full understanding and co-operation. We hope that you will practice with deep compassion the teachings of our sages and "not limit your filial piety and parental love to your own parents and children." We must direct the interests of all individuals, families, villages, and regions toward the welfare of the whole nation. We must extend respect for our own parents to include all who are aged, we must sympathize with all our poor and unfortunate brothers, and we must help our nation, as we would our family, through its present difficulties. Similarly we must enlarge our affection for our own children, so as to take care of all the rising generation, to set before them good examples of citizenship and to guide them toward sincerity, purity, and patriotism as a means of ensuring the existence of our nation. If members of the Council lead the nation in this spirit, I make bold to say that our War of Resistance will surely end in triumph and our reconstruction program in success. Thus, the final aim of the Three Principles of the People will be realized.

In an attempt to express my personal hopes in more concrete terms, I wish to draw your attention to two points. To my mind, by carrying out these two points the Council will make its greatest contribution to the nation. The service of this Council in providing a channel for the exchange of views between the Government and the people and in uniting their strength is of even greater value than the gallant sacrifices of our own men and officers at the front.

What are the two things I hope of you? First, the Council at this session must demonstrate a positive and constructive spirit. This Council differs from parliaments in other countries. In the spirit of its organization, the circumstances under which it was established, and the history of its development, it has no precedent

in the political history of the world. In the first two sessions the Council has judiciously avoided faulty practices common to ordinary parliaments. This fact alone is something of which we can be rightly proud. The needs of the war and reconstruction are now more pressing than ever. In order to save time and increase efficiency I suggest that we further reduce the number of unimportant proposals and devote ourselves to deliberation on matters of practical and constructive importance.

At the last session of the Council much precious time was wasted on the examination of draft resolutions. I trust you now realize that our Government is a revolutionary one, that it has a high sense of responsibility, and that it bases its administration on public opinion and justice. So long as the people do not hinder our War of Resistance and our program of reconstruction, the Government will not restrict their rights. But let us not be over-anxious about our personal rights and privileges, and neglect the interests of the nation as a whole. Today we must develop a positive and active spirit and fight against those negative and passive attitudes which have taken such deep root among our people. Mutual suspicion and friction, frustration of each other's efforts, and internal strife are not only a negative form of behavior but they waste our energies and hinder progress. The fall of the Sung and Ming Dynasties was due largely to selfish conflicts and lack of unity within the country. The leaders of the State sacrificed national freedom for personal freedom. While they quarreled with each other the enemy came in. Let us not repeat their mistake but rather let us leave a noble example to our descendants. Let us instill a positive, constructive, and co-operative spirit into all our discussions and recommendations and by our attitude and actions inspire confidence and courage among our people.

In the second place, the Council at this session should fully demonstrate its purity and sincerity of motive and its oneness of faith and purpose. If we do not now save our nation from ruin, who else can be expected to save it? If we do not now protect our nation's interests, who else will protect them? Individuals must lose themselves in the State. Because we must secure freedom for our State before there can be any genuine personal freedom, it is necessary to obey the State and to merge the strength of the indi-

vidual into that of the State. We must place the interests of the nation above everything else. We must go a step further and expect that every citizen of the Republic of China will be a patriot. A common faith will beget mutual trust. Sincerity of motive means that we are willing to make genuine sacrifices for the sake of the nation, and purity of motive means the absence of all motives other than the good of the nation. If we are not afraid to lay down our lives for our country, what else can we not sacrifice? Our words, our actions, and even our thoughts must revolve around the national interest. Our labor must be motivated purely and simply by our love for the nation. In personal relations and in the handling of public affairs there must be mutual trust before there can be united strength to deal with our common enemy and to attain our common goal.

Those occupying responsible positions in the Government today are carrying on solely in the interest of China's future. Otherwise they would not work so hard and endure so much criticism. Unless you were similarly inspired, you would not be here today to undertake with us the herculean task of pulling our nation through this crisis. The Government and the members of this Council have a common understanding of the situation and our objective is the same. We have a common faith in the nation's future, and between us is mutual trust and confidence. With a united spirit we can surmount all difficulties and achieve success in all we attempt. With a united spirit and with united effort we can save our nation and our people from the great danger that threatens to engulf us.

The two points I have just mentioned are commonplace ones, but in them are expressed my earnest hopes. Since the outbreak of the War of Resistance I have been charged with excessively heavy responsibilities. I have been with you constantly, my fellow-countrymen, in thought and in spirit. But now that I have been appointed Chairman of this Council my opportunities for coming into personal contact with you are greatly increased. This should mean closer co-operation in our endeavors, and more occasions for mutual counsel and help.

I am happy to have this opportunity to work with you. At the same time, I am conscious of my own limitations and fear that I may not be able to fulfill your expectations of me. In the future,

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if you should find me unsound in judgment, inconsistent in word and deed, insincere, impractical, or incompetent, I hope you will unhesitatingly advise and correct me so that I may not fail in my duty. Loyal only to the State and to the people and zealous only for their welfare, I am willing to share with you whatever honor or humiliation may come our way, and with one heart and purpose to struggle with you to the very end. In this way I hope to fulfill my responsibility in defense and reconstruction and to be worthy of the trust which the Government and the people have reposed in me.

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Japanese Landing on Hainan Island

An interview with a group of foreign correspondents on February 12, 1939, following the landing of Japanese troops on Hainan Island.

FEBRUARY 12, 1939.

QUESTION: What is the intention of the Japanese in effecting a landing of their troops on Hainan Island?

ANSWER: In order to appreciate the significance of the Japanese landing on Hainan Island and its international repercussions, we should consider the question of the Pacific Ocean as a whole. Hainan Island is a strategic point between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. Should the enemy occupy this island, not only would communications between Hong Kong and Singapore and also between Singapore and Australia be affected but the security of the Philippine Islands and of Indo-China would also be threatened. This would mean the beginning of Japanese naval dominance in the Pacific Ocean. When the island has come under Japanese control, the Japanese navy will be able to make its influence felt as far west as the Mediterranean Sea, while to the east it will be in a position to cut the connection between the American naval base in Hawaii and the British naval base at Singapore. The present Japanese movement on Hainan Island is in reality in the nature of a reply to the visit of the American warships to Singapore last year.

QUESTION: Why is the Japanese landing on Hainan Island considered a prelude to Japan's attempt at control of the Pacific Ocean?

ANSWER: We all know that Japan has in mind three strategic points in the Pacific: Saghalien Island in the north, Hainan Island in the west, and the island of Guam in the east. With a view to complete naval dominance in the Pacific, she has been casting a covetous eye on all three of these islands. Should they fall into her hands, both the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines would be as good as Japanese territory. Having got possession of one half of Sag-

halien Island, Japan is now trying to occupy Hainan Island in the hope of frustrating any possible concerted action by the British and American navies in the Pacific. Unless she is checked, Japan will next maneuver for a position from which to control Guam. Eventually she will be in a position not only to hamper the westward movement of the American fleet, but also to cut the line of communication with the Philippines. In order to carry out her dream of southward expansion and dominance in the Pacific, Japan has for thirty years been scheming to make a strategic triangle out of these three islands. In 1936, when she provoked the Pakhoi incident, she intended to use this as a pretext for establishing herself on Hainan Island. But, for fear of international complications, she dared not go any further at that time. Now Japan, regardless of consequences, has invaded the Island. This move is a last desperate military attempt at the conquest of China, if not for the purpose of inciting a world war. What Japan is now doing is the most important event since the commencement of the Chinese-Japanese hostilities, and is also a turning point in the history of the Pacific Ocean. Japan has clearly revealed her inordinate ambition. I do not see how those countries which have vital interests in the Far East can watch without concern this dangerous development. To the Japanese navy Hainan Island is the first line of advance in the west Pacific as Guam will be in the east Pacific.

QUESTION: Where then is the second line of advance?

Smilingly the Generalissimo said that the peoples of Europe and America, especially America, know well the answer to this question.

QUESTION: To what extent will the Japanese occupation of Hainan Island affect peace in the Far East?

ANSWER: The attempt of the Japanese to occupy Hainan Island on February 10 is similar to their occupation of Mukden on September 18, 1931. In other words, by attacking the Island Japan has committed another Mukden outrage in the Pacific. The effect of this is the same irrespective of the fact that one outrage was committed on land and the other on the sea. It may be recalled that at the time of the Mukden outrage, all the statesmen of the world, with the exception of Colonel Stimson, then American Secretary of State, failed to give it serious consideration. This enabled the

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Japanese to extend continuously the area of invasion. Eight years have passed, and during that period Japan has created for herself a controlling position in the Orient and has hypnotized herself into the belief that she is able to conquer the world. Should she be permitted to hold Hainan Island, I believe that in a short time she will establish a new air and naval base there. As a consequence, the international situation in the Pacific will suffer a great change. Even if France should then wish to establish a naval base in Indo-China, and the United States of America should desire to defend Guam, I fear that they would not have time to do so. In making the present southward move Japan shows that she does not intend to make it an occasion for terminating the Sino-Japanese hostilities. Obviously she has made up her mind to run the risk of starting a war in the Pacific.

QUESTION: What defensive measures has the Chinese Government taken in the Island?

ANSWER: Because of her lack of naval forces, China has not given much consideration to the defense of her coast line, but the land forces in Hainan have made sufficient preparations and will do their utmost to prevent the enemy from occupying the Island. As to a possible Japanese attack on Pakhoi, we have taken necessary precautionary measures and are ready to offer strong resistance. All military observers hold the same opinion that an enemy attack on Pakhoi would only lead him into a more disadvantageous position without compensating benefits.

QUESTION: What will be the effect of the Japanese landing at Hainan Island on the Chinese-Japanese hostilities?

ANSWER: Very little. The issue between China and Japan will be fought out on the mainland. The occupation of one island is not of serious consequence to us.

The New Life Movement in Wartime

An address broadcast from Chungking on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the New Life Movement, founded on February 19, 1934, by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

FEBRUARY 18, 1939.

TO MORROW marks the fifth anniversary of the founding of the New Life Movement. A critical study of the results of the movement, in relation to national events during this period, engenders mixed feelings. To begin with, we are poignantly aware of our failures to accomplish during the past five years as much of our task of national reconstruction as we had expected. Our people have not been thoroughly aroused in spirit, nor have they exerted themselves to the utmost.

And yet we are equally cognizant of the fact that the seeds sown five years ago have borne much fruit. Thanks to the clarion call sounded by the New Life Movement, the essential spirit of our nation and the traditional virtues of our people have been brightly displayed at many places and on many occasions during the past nineteen months. People in all walks of life are being encouraged and inspired. With increasing national self-confidence we are marching along the road to national reconstruction and regeneration. In all fields we are showing steady progress.

Most striking since the outbreak of the war is the fact that the reforms in our living habits, desired by the New Life Movement, such as efficiency, honesty, simplicity, and orderliness, have been taking place without special efforts toward promotion or supervision. Trained by actual situations and learning through experience, our people are coming to see the real significance and value of the New Life Movement. Consequently our efforts at popularizing the New Life Movement will achieve much quicker results. The time and energy formerly expended on publicity may in the future be devoted to more realistic activities. In a word, we

should make what we have accomplished the basis for new endeavors and thus extend the scope of our work. This critical period of resistance and reconstruction is just the time for us to build upon the foundation of the best in our past, a new and glorious structure of national life.

The numerous activities sponsored by the New Life Movement Headquarters during the past year, such as the promotion of War Area Service Corps, the providing of comforts for wounded soldiers and for men and officers at the front, the betterment of living conditions for men in training camps, the promotion of thrift campaigns, and the organization of students for service in villages during their summer vacations, were all designed to meet various wartime needs and have been warmly approved and welcomed by our people. Various types of war service rendered by Chinese women under the auspices of the New Life Movement have greatly helped the cause of national mobilization. All of these achievements would have been difficult in ordinary times. And yet if preparatory work had not been done in pre-war days, the results now would be far less apparent. Real situations create real needs. Our War of Resistance, although beset with difficulties and suffering, has inspired much progress among our people. I am not the only one who feels elated at this; all of our patriotic citizens now realize that the road of struggle and pain will lead to a revival of our nation. We should now further develop our latent national strength in the light of the actual conditions of today. We should make the New Life Movement a weapon with which to fight for victory, and a dynamic force with which to carry forward our task of national reconstruction.

It is well for us to keep in mind the objectives of the New Life Movement when it was first inaugurated five years ago. Our aim was to revive the old virtues in our national heritage and to make modern citizens out of our people. All our people should understand the meaning of *Li*, *I*, *Lien*, and *Ch'ih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, and Conscientiousness); and they should be prepared and able to bear responsibility and to observe discipline when the nation is confronted with a foreign foe. They should demonstrate their ability to unite against a common enemy to help each

other in time of peril, to defend the country against alien aggression, and to struggle together for the existence of the State.

The brutal invasion which our enemy began on July 7, 1937, has already lasted nineteen months, and our War of Resistance has entered its second phase, the crucial period when the outcome of the war and the fate of our nation will be decided. We must overcome all the remaining obstacles, exterminate the invaders, and make sure our final victory. Then and only then can we have a glorious national existence and security and happiness for our people. Since our nation has come to such a significant and critical period of its history, the New Life Movement must likewise enter a new stage of development by advancing the standards of individual living and by revitalizing our whole national life.

The essence of the New Life Movement lies in the ancient virtues of "Propriety, Justice, Integrity, and Conscientiousness," manifested in daily living—in our dress and in our food, in our homes and in our travels. The meaning and significance of these virtues and the methods of their application have been discussed in detail in the Outline of the New Life Movement, and I do not need to explain them further. But in the present phase of our War of Resistance the living conditions of the people have greatly changed. Therefore, the spirit of the New Life Movement must be manifested in more concrete and active ways and must be in harmony with the demands of the times. Only thus can we accomplish our mission.

I wish now to expound the meaning of a disciplined life in wartime. First, about *Li*, "Propriety." In its ordinary sense it means "good manners," but when applied to wartime it should mean "good discipline." For in our program of Resistance and Reconstruction discipline must come above everything else. In times of peace, we should naturally emphasize orderliness in our habits of living and in our appearance and attitudes. During the war it is all the more imperative for citizens to observe discipline; otherwise we shall not have the strength that comes from unity and solidarity.

Take, for example, the conscription of able-bodied citizens for military service. Discipline and order are embodied in the conscription laws laid down by the State. Cheerful send-offs for the men marching to the front, and honor and service to the soldiers who

are wounded, represent the support of public opinion and the unwritten discipline which all Chinese citizens should observe. Only thus can our attitude be considered proper and only thus can we meet the present needs of our country. In the *Book of Rites* it is written, "Do not desert your principles in time of danger." This defines "propriety" in its complete sense. To obey and carry out all the laws and orders of the State without thought of personal gain or loss means adherence to the principle of "Propriety."

Next comes *I*, "Justice." In its ordinary sense justice signifies "upright conduct." At the present time it should also bear the meaning of "ungrudging sacrifice." Our soldiers who are bravely fighting the enemy at the front, and our fellow-countrymen who are enthusiastically joining the army, are all manifesting this spirit of ungrudging sacrifice. Those who have contributed their money or labor to the State as well as those who have destroyed their factories and burned their granaries in the war zone lest they be utilized by the enemy, are also living up to the principle of ungrudging sacrifice. They are all exponents of "justice."

The third virtue, *Lien*, is "Integrity." This ordinarily means a clear discrimination between right and wrong. At present it should include the idea of economy and frugality. Modern warfare is a contest between the manpower and material resources of two nations. The one that can outlast the other in economic and material strength will win the final victory. Therefore, not only should public funds and public property be handled properly so as to avoid the slightest suspicion of waste or graft, but private possessions and even scraps of cloth and paper should be treasured so that nothing useful is lost. Only thus can we build up the strength of our nation. The practice of economy or thrift by individuals is the first step to integrity and generosity of character. In a broad sense, however, we can define economy as the control of selfish desires and the disciplining of body and mind so that nothing is done that is detrimental to the State or harmful to the national life. Such economy will be a prime factor in the success of our twofold program of Resistance and Reconstruction.

Ch'ih, "Conscientiousness," suggests a "thoroughly awakened conscience." In wartime it should also convey the idea of "heroic

struggle." We are awakened, for example, to the imperative need for fresh troops in order to continue the war. Then we should quickly and heroically respond to the conscription summons or send our own sons and brothers into the army for active service. We awaken to the fact that soldiers at the front need certain supplies; then we should at once make contributions ourselves and urge others to do likewise. Every awakening of conscience should always be followed by heroic struggle.

Confucius once said, "To have a sense of shame is akin to having courage." A "sense of shame" implies an awakened conscience while "courage" implies "heroic struggle." With awakened consciences and courageous spirits we can carry on the "heroic struggle" and be worthy citizens of modern China.

To sum up, everyone should understand the demands made upon him by our national resistance and reconstruction and should discharge his duties to the State loyally, bravely, and whole-heartedly, regardless of hardship and sacrifice. By supporting discipline and order he can help to bring about a new kind of spirit in our nation. Let us all base our personal behavior, as well as our public service, upon the noble principles which I have just described to you.

All our conduct in time of war must be disciplined, and must be imbued with a high sense of responsibility. We must be able to distinguish private affairs from public duties and we must be able to put our beliefs into practice. Above all, we must not be afraid of sacrifices for the national cause. This is to apply "propriety, justice, integrity, and conscientiousness" to our mode of living in wartime. We must understand that the life and conduct of individuals cannot be separated from the welfare of the nation and the good of society. Only by constant examination of ourselves, by clear judgment between right and wrong, and by continual hard effort can we hope to meet the present crisis and to succeed in our Resistance and Reconstruction.

Another important idea. Our aim in promoting the New Life Movement is to reform the people's habits of dress and food, lodging and travel, and so to bring about a more disciplined, productive, and rational social life.

Our nation is now engaged in a life and death struggle. If we are to check our enemy and defend our nation we must reshape our

living habits to meet wartime needs. In order to increase our national strength, we must dedicate the labor of all the citizens to economic reconstruction. In order to lay a foundation for reconstruction now and after the war, we must transform the old disorganized and selfish habits of the people into co-operative and mutually helpful ways of living. In promoting the New Life Movement we must apply the ideal of disciplined, productive, and rational living to individual life and also to social and national life. We must encourage all our citizens to contribute their labor gladly to the nation and to take active part in all constructive enterprises for the benefit of the nation.

Some examples of what the people can do may be mentioned. First, we are giving now military training to all able-bodied male citizens throughout the country. Those who are of conscription age and eligible for war service should, irrespective of their social positions, go and receive military training.

Secondly, the local governments have not been as efficient as they should be in census-taking and in organizing the people into *pao chia* (the mutual guarantee system). This is partly due to the fact that our people have not co-operated voluntarily with the authorities. From now on, the people should give the fullest co-operation to the *pao chia* chiefs and should help to improve the *pao chia* organization. Here are two most important tasks in our military program, essentially related to the subjugation of the enemy and the wiping out of traitors.

Thirdly, in the message I addressed recently to the intellectuals, gentry, and educators of the nation, I mentioned the importance of developing handicraft industries and of utilizing all our economic resources. We should not only give whole-hearted support to this plan but we should also encourage the women and children and other members of our families to use their spare time and strength for home industries.

Fourthly, the Central Government is now pushing ahead on various economic and communication projects in the southwestern and northwestern provinces. Naturally, a great deal of manpower and money is needed. We expect our fellow-countrymen to contribute capital, technical skill, and labor in liberal measure to these enterprises. Because of the importance of these projects in our

NEW LIFE MOVEMENT IN WARTIME

program of production, the entire nation, leaders and people, should strive together for their completion.

We must understand the necessity for increasing our production as much as possible so that we can have sufficient supplies. We must understand also that by the time we win our final victory many of our industrial and commercial enterprises will have been destroyed by the enemy, and the lives and property of many of our fellow-countrymen will have been lost. After this long and bitter struggle the life of our nation will be full of difficulties and hardships. In order to overcome these we must prepare ourselves now for further struggle and suffering. To save our country from the dangers that lie ahead we must immediately put our whole life on a disciplined, productive, and rational basis. This is the most urgent demand which the New Life Movement makes upon us today.

Fellow-countrymen, every modern nation must have its distinctive national spirit. The New Life Movement is the means of restoring our national spirit. Propriety, justice, integrity, and conscientiousness are pillars of the nation, and discipline, production, and rational behavior are standards for our common life. Let us grasp these ideas firmly and go forward fearlessly with one heart and one purpose. Let us intensify all our thinking and activities and make the coming year one of great progress for the New Life Movement. Let us earnestly promote our wartime standards of living and increase our power of resistance. Let us demonstrate fully our spirit of struggle and sacrifice and create a glorious new life for our five-thousand-year-old nation and people.

Message to the Christians of America

A message from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent through Dr. J. W. Decker, Foreign Secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, after an interview in Chungking on February 20, 1939.

FEBRUARY 20, 1939.

AT THIS hour of our national crisis, we, the Chinese people, are profoundly moved by the increasing number of concrete expressions of sympathy which have been coming to us from our friends in other parts of the world.

Christians have left no stone unturned to show their growing interest in the material as well as the spiritual welfare of our suffering people. Missionaries, in particular, have never hesitated to make even the greatest personal sacrifices to heal the wounded and succor the distressed.

I welcome this opportunity, therefore, to express again the appreciation which I and my countrymen feel for the unqualified endorsement of the righteousness of our cause that has come to us so spontaneously and freely from the Christian world.

I believe that those of our people who survive this terrible holocaust which has brought so great a suffering and loss of life will come forth victorious in spirit, and will be more strongly confirmed in the faith that Right will always triumph over Might, whether in personal or in international relations.

China's March Towards Democracy

An address to the Third Session of the People's Political Council held in Chungking on its closing day, February 21, 1939.

FEBRUARY 21, 1939.

THE Third Session of the People's Political Council and its proceedings have attracted wide attention both in China and abroad. During these ten days we have deliberated together with eager enthusiasm on important policies of the State. I am grateful for the approval you have given to the hopes which I expressed at the opening meeting. My own faith in our ultimate victory and in the future of our nation has been greatly strengthened by the remarkable spirit of unity and co-operation manifested in these meetings.

During this session responsible officials of the Central Government have won our confidence by their frank and full reports on the work and problems of administration. In our debates upon various resolutions and recommendations, we have given special attention to the pressing needs of the hour and we have concentrated our thoughts and energies upon a number of concrete and constructive wartime measures. The resolutions passed, while not numerous, are to the point and useful. The reports by many members of the Council upon their actual war experiences, describing their joys as well as their hardships, and offering various sound and practical suggestions, will undoubtedly be of great help to the Government in carrying out its program. With the Government and the people constantly exchanging their views and sharing difficulties we may be confident of success in our heavy task of war and reconstruction.

Though the Council will soon be in recess, its members will not for a moment cease their patriotic activities. I am sure that if the Council continues to display its spirit of positive action and of mutual help, not only will the Government be benefited but the people also will be inspired to give everything to the struggle. Our

power to conquer the enemy and to secure final victory will be enlarged and a strong foundation for post-war reconstruction will be laid.

This Council will occupy, in the future history of Chinese political institutions, an illustrious place. As I said at the first session the mission of the Council is to pave the way for a constitutional form of government, and to lay the foundations for a genuine democracy. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated the *San Min Chu I* he made democracy the final aim of his *Min Chuan Chu I* (Principle of the People's Sovereignty). If a people cannot look after their own interests, manage their own public affairs, and take an active part in the government, they cannot build up a strong nation. The most powerful and at the same time most stable nations in the world are founded on the will of the people, and the interests and policies of the government are identical with those of the people. The object of Dr. Sun's Principle of the People's Sovereignty is to create a nation in which the government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

We are now prosecuting the war and at the same time carrying on reconstruction. To be successful in both, we cannot rely on military strength alone. We must mobilize the spirit of the whole nation and organize the spiritual forces that are awakened. We must transform the will of our people into a powerful weapon for our men at the front, and into a dynamic force for the development of our great hinterland. Besides strengthening our military forces, we must mobilize the spirit of our people and unify their will.

The Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) convoked the People's Council last year with the hope that the Council would facilitate the expression of genuine public opinion and give the Government guidance in its policy by making known to it the sufferings and aspirations of the people. There was also the hope that the members of the Council would truly represent the people and would contribute their abilities and their experience to the service of the Government. If this is done, the Government will be able to satisfy the people and the words and actions of the people will strengthen the Government. Government and people will share the glory that comes with success or the humiliation that comes with failure. When the Government and the people become one in spirit

and purpose, new strength will be added to our resistance and greater achievement will reward our efforts at reconstruction.

True, it is our duty as members of the Council to fight for national independence and freedom, but upon us also depends whether China can during this difficult time of war complete the pattern of a genuine democracy and lay a foundation for lasting peace and order. How are we to discharge our responsibility in this connection? As a member of this Council, I wish to consider with you the nature of the genuine democracy which we desire for China, and the steps we must take to achieve it.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was well acquainted with both Chinese and Western scholarship. He had a thorough knowledge of world movements and of conditions in China. Out of his forty years' experience as a revolutionary leader he formulated the Three Principles of the People, believing that the application of these principles would make a prosperous, powerful, peaceful, and happy country. Dr. Sun's hope was to bring about a democracy which would be more thoroughgoing and more practical than other democracies. In his lectures on the Principle of the People's Sovereignty, he criticized the theory of natural rights and started a revolutionary school of thought concerning people's rights. Furthermore, he wanted the Chinese people to exercise fully the direct political rights of election, recall, initiative, and referendum. But he was more than an idealist; he was also a practical revolutionist. The higher his ideals soared, the surer became his steps. He maintained that the people must practice revolutionary principles and fulfill their revolutionary responsibilities before they could be given elementary political rights. He also held the view that the people must be trained before they could exercise the more advanced rights of election, recall, initiative, and referendum.

Dr. Sun wished to establish a true democracy without any make-believe or artificiality. Unfortunately the Chinese people had inherited all kinds of evil practices from many dynasties of autocratic rule, and were at a low ebb of intelligence and vitality. The people were habitually disorganized and selfish. Serious obstacles to internal progress existed. To bridge the chasm between such a historical background and the ideal of democracy meant strenuous toil in the face of great difficulties. Certainly the goal

could not be reached at a single stride. Consequently, Dr. Sun declared that China's revolution must pass through the stages of military rule, political tutelage, and constitutional government before it would be complete.

Accordingly, the National Government proceeded first to unify the country. Then followed the period of political tutelage. It was originally hoped that this would hasten the realization of constitutional government and the completion of the national revolution. Unfortunately, soon after internal unity had been achieved, new difficulties arose. For five or six years the Government had to devote a large part of the manpower and financial resources of the nation to operations which should have fallen within the period of military rule. Scarcely had we gained our second wind before Japan began her long-premeditated attack upon us, every day striking deeper into the heart of our country. To protect our sovereign rights and to preserve our national existence we were forced to resist. For nineteen months now we have engaged in bitter war. Our losses in territory occupied by the enemy and in lives and property sacrificed by our people cannot possibly be measured by numbers alone.

Judging by present conditions, not only has our program for the period of political tutelage received a serious setback, but much of the work of the period of military rule has to be done all over again. We must first of all crush the aggressor's military force, destroy all traitors and puppets, and eradicate all influences harmful to our nation and antagonistic to our revolutionary cause. We must recover our lost territories and clear up our internal situation before we can really talk about political tutelage and constitutional government. Strictly speaking, we are still in the period of military government. According to Article Six in the Outlines of National Reconstruction the main tasks of this period are as follows: "All organizations must be under military control. The Government should on the one hand employ military force to clear the country of all internal obstacles, and on the other it should propagate its principles (i.e., the Three Principles of the People) for the enlightenment of the masses."

As I have frequently said, the most urgent task before us now is the defense and rebuilding of our nation. We must unify the

thinking of the people and call forth all their powers for the completion of this twofold task. During the war we should strengthen the people's sense of responsibility toward the State and their understanding of the Three Principles. Although we are in another period of military government when obstacles to our national independence are being removed, yet political tutelage should still be carried on.

The training of the people in government is essential to the early completion of our national task; only we must not let it interfere with our military activities during the war. On the contrary, we should use the program of political training as an aid in prosecuting the war. Until the war is over military affairs must receive first consideration and military victory must be our primary objective. Political training is important but secondary. For the present, the winning of the war must be central in all our thinking and planning. Since we aim to build a strong and genuine democracy, we must not neglect the procedures and steps necessary for its realization. Before the coming of real democracy our people, who for thousands of years have been accustomed to autocracy, must be given the right psychological preparation and must be thoroughly trained in the process of self-government.

Besides dividing the process of revolution into three stages, Dr. Sun Yat-sen also gave us this grave warning. "Within a few months after the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911 there came about the downfall of an autocratic form of government more than four thousand years old, and simultaneously the overthrow of the Manchus who had been the rulers of China for over two hundred and sixty years. No one can deny the tremendous destructive power of the revolution. Yet up to the present the realization of the *San Min Chu I* has been as uncertain and remote as ever. Why? Because after the destruction we failed to rebuild in accordance with the program that previously had been decided upon."

At that time people made the mistake of neglecting the steps necessary for achieving democracy; instead, they simply vied with one another in talking about democracy. That is why the provisional constitution then adopted degenerated into a mere scrap of paper. Disorders and disasters followed one another in a vicious circle. The supreme laws of the State were manipulated by the politicians

and warlords so as to cover up their own evil doings. In the name of democracy numerous barriers to democracy were set up and untold sins against democracy were committed. The resulting situation could best be described in the famous words of Mme. Roland during the French Revolution, "O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

In order not to repeat this mistake, we must start from the very beginning, and seek genuine liberty for our nation and people. Since the formation of this Council, its members have willingly sacrificed their individual freedom and personal preferences in order to lay a foundation for democratic government. This is the most gratifying thing that has happened during the war and, for that matter, since China became a republic in 1911. I feel confident that in the future we shall follow more closely the teachings which Dr. Sun Yat-sen bequeathed to us and shall earnestly promote the program of political training. We must set an example for the people by displaying a high sense of responsibility and by actual accomplishments, and avoid the pitfall of irresponsible and unrealistic thinking and behavior. We must make it clear to our people that democracy is not a synonym for lack of law, nor order a synonym for anarchy.

Democracy must be based on a sound and collective public opinion which truly represents the will of the majority. The freedom with which democracy endows the people must not be in conflict with public welfare, nor must it go beyond the limits marked by the laws of the State. With our nation facing the most severe crisis in its history, we must teach the people to respect the power and authority of the State. The State is the enforcer of laws, and the guardian of the nation's welfare. In order to protect the interests of the people and the welfare of the nation, the State must punish those who violate its laws and destroy its political institutions. Sanctions applied in accordance with the law should not be mistaken for oppression. In all democratic countries there are governments, political institutions, and laws. The latter two especially must be respected by the people and their destruction by a few must never be tolerated.

In order to lay a foundation for democracy during this war we must inform the people of the real meaning of democracy. We

members of the Council are the leaders of the people. It is our duty to train the people and to protect their interests. We must fully exercise the authority of just public opinion against all those who in the name of freedom or democracy violate the laws and institutions of the State and weaken our power of resistance. Hypocrites and obstructionists have no place among us. Our people must realize that military government is essential to the prosecution of our war and that political tutelage is a prerequisite to national rebuilding. A lasting foundation for genuine democracy can be laid only if we follow the plan outlined for us by our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The entire aim of Dr. Sun's life and struggle was to carry out the Three Principles and to restore the government to the people. But a people without training in government cannot govern. Therefore Dr. Sun called upon the intellectuals of the nation and his comrades of the revolution to become guardians of the people, and as public servants to teach and guide the people. This is the road we must take in rebuilding our nation.

In Chinese history there are two good examples of political tutelage: Premier Yi Yin and King Tai Chia of the Shang Dynasty, and Duke Chow and King Cheng of the Chow Dynasty. King Tai Chia was a minor when he came to the throne; so Premier Yi Yin took upon himself the task of teaching and guiding the youthful monarch. His counsels were later compiled in an essay named after himself. It happened that King Tai Chia at first did not heed his advice but became addicted to evil habits. Premier Yi Yin thereupon sent the King to the Tung Palace and had him kept there. In spite of suspicion and slander Premier Yi Yin ruled the Kingdom as regent and at the same time used all possible means to teach and guide the wayward monarch. The three chapters about Yi Yin in the *History of the Shang Dynasty* form a lasting testimony to his love for the nation and his loyalty to the throne. Later, when King Tai Chia repented of his wrongdoings and learned the meaning of responsibility and acquired the necessary abilities for administration, Premier Yi Yin turned over to him the reins of government and himself retired from political life. When he left he presented the King with an essay embodying his views on public administration.

In the other case, Duke Chow was entrusted by Emperor Yu with the responsibility of helping the Crown Prince. At the time of his father's death, King Cheng was young and his power of moral judgment was still undeveloped. Duke Chow had to take measures against Wu Keng's revolt and at the same time bear with the mischievous rumors circulated against him by Kuan and Tsai, two uncles of King Cheng. Duke Chow's position was extremely difficult, but he carried on in spite of untold hardships and humiliations. Not a moment did he shirk his heavy responsibility for establishing peace and order in the Kingdom and for helping and teaching King Cheng until he himself could rule. The four verses in the *Book of Odes* which describe in metaphorical language Duke Chow's love for the nation and his loyalty to the King still inspire all who read them:

* Owl, O owl, hear my request,
 And do not, owl, destroy my nest.
 You have taken my young,
 Though I over them hung,
 With the nursing of love and of care.
 Pity me, pity me! Hear my prayer.
 Ere the clouds the sky had obscured,
 The mulberry roots I secured.
 Door and window around,
 Them so firmly I bound,
 That I said, casting downward my eyes,
 "Dare any of you my house despise?"
 I tugged with my claws and I tore,
 And my mouth and my claws were sore.
 So the rushes I sought,
 And all other things brought;
 For to perfect the house I was bent,
 And I grudged no toil with this intent.

* Translation by James Legge: The *She King*, Part I, Bk. XV, Ode V. Duke Chow describes himself as a bird whose young ones have been destroyed by an owl. He justifies the severe measures taken against the rebels among whom were his own brothers. In spite of revolts against the throne and rumors accusing him of disloyalty to the young king, his nephew, Duke Chow did not falter. He defended the dynasty at the risk of his own life and has been honored ever since in history and song.

My wings are deplorably torn,
And my tail is much injured and worn.

Tossed about by the wind,
While the rain beats unkind,
Oh! my house is in peril of harm,
And this note I scream out in alarm.

Later, when all uprisings in the Kingdom had been quelled and when King Cheng had come of age, Duke Chow like Premier Yi Yin restored to his master the reins of government. Then as if still not fully satisfied Duke Chow recorded his precepts in an essay entitled *No Leisure*, to remind King Cheng of the hardships which his ancestors had experienced in founding the Kingdom and of the need for constant vigilance in the performance of duty.

. We are passing through an unprecedented national crisis. We are far from completing our task of national reconstruction. How can we fail to share the deep feelings which moved Duke Chow?

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great pioneer of our national revolution, often likened himself to Premier Li Yin and Duke Chow. He advocated the division of our revolution into three periods—military rule, political tutelage, and constitutional government—because he wanted to train the people before giving them the right of self-government. In the light of history how great was our late Leader's wisdom and sense of responsibility!

In an essay, *Singleness of Virtues*, Premier Yi Yin said, "It is not that Heaven has any particular love for the Shang Dynasty, but Heaven treasures the singleness of the virtues Shang stands for; it is not that the Shang Government seeks the support of the people, but the people are won to Shang by its singleness of virtues." Since the overthrow of autocratic rule the Republic of China has also had "singleness of virtues" to guide the nation. This is none other than the Three Principles of the People. Our responsibility today is to carry on the work left to us by our revolutionary leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as well as to emulate the spirit of Premier Yi Yin and Duke Chow. We must put the *San Min Chu I* into actual practice so that the entire nation may be influenced by it. This and the building of a solid foundation for democracy are heavy responsibilities which the members of this Council must

assume. We are leaders of society and of the people and we must set a good example.

It is our duty to educate the people and to help them understand what their responsibility is and how they can fulfill it. We are the Premier Yi Yins and the Duke Chows of today and the people are the King Tai Chias and the King Chengs. We must look upon the people as our masters, and teach, train, and protect them until they are mature and governing powers can be returned to them. When the people are ready to assume full responsibility, then democratic government will be established.

To carry out our mission we members of the Council must bear ourselves in an exemplary manner both inside and out of the conference room. We must obey laws and orders, observe strict discipline, and perform all our duties faithfully. The ancients said, "If a man is upright he will be obeyed without orders." And again, "One who teaches others by his own example has many followers." If we are to be examples to the people, we must practice what we preach, and observe strict discipline. We must be responsible to the nation and the people in all we say, and all of our actions must conform to law and order. Then the people will naturally accept our guidance, and with training and inspiration will be prepared to build up a real democracy.

Whether democracy can be established in China depends entirely upon us in this Council. The ultimate aim of the *San Min Chu I*—universal brotherhood and the ideal world described in the *Book of Rites*—cannot be achieved without earnest and united effort.

The three things which the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang asked of the nation—the strengthening of our national unity, the intensification of our struggle against Japan, and the speeding up of our reconstruction program—have been crystallized in the resolutions adopted by this session. Now the members of the Council should publicize these resolutions and lead the way in putting them into effect.

This Council is not an ordinary peacetime legislative assembly but a body of men and women who have struggled and suffered together and who have gathered for conference here under extraordinary circumstances to give guidance to the nation. This Council

is not only a place where public opinion can be expressed but also a place where the power of public opinion can be centralized.

After returning to our various places of work let us all, in accordance with the resolutions of this session, help to raise the national morale and to revive the traditional virtues of our people. Let each one work hard at his post and help put into execution the resolutions adopted by this session: the revision of the conscription system, the enforcement of spiritual mobilization, the expediting of economic reconstruction, and the reform of the *pao chia* (registration and mutual guarantee) system.

If we strive hard we cannot fail to have results, and our Government, our nation, and our people will all be richly benefited.

As this session comes to a close and I think of the arduous labors that lie ahead of you, I am still full of hope and confidence. You are like people in the same boat in time of storm. I believe you will not fail to bring the ship safely to port.

Educators and the War

An address delivered on March 5, 1939, to the Third National Educational Conference held in Chungking and attended by China's leading educational administrators and professors, from both free and occupied areas.

MARCH 5, 1939.

THE First National Educational Conference was held in May of the 17th year of the Republic (1928) and the second one in April of the 19th Year of the Republic (1930). Today, more than eight years later, the third conference is in session at a time when the whole nation is forging ahead in war and reconstruction. Hence, it has a very significant contribution to make.

The purpose of this conference is to examine existing educational conditions, to devise ways and means of improvement, and to seek solutions for the many pressing problems before us. I hope that by meeting together you will get a clearer idea of our educational needs, and of the chief educational issues at stake. Then with sincerity and enthusiasm you can do your part in saving and rebuilding our nation. Education must have a more definite goal. The *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People) which guides us in our revolution and in our struggle for national freedom should also be made the guiding principle of our education. To create a new life for modern China, we must apply the ideas of Resistance and Reconstruction to our educational program.

I have often said that the vitality of a modern nation depends upon three factors: education, economic life, and military power. Education is the foundation for all enterprises; it is the link that binds all other forces together. Hence, the aim of our education should be the development of our economic life and the increase of our military strength. We should develop our economic resources so as to reinforce our fighting power and lay a foundation for post-war reconstruction. We should increase our military strength so

as to defeat our enemy and build up our nation. We should, out of our wartime difficulties, create a vigorous and forward-looking modern state.

A question widely debated today is wartime *versus* peacetime education. To put it another way: shall we abandon all the ordinary systems of education, or shall we maintain them but with such modifications in methods as are necessary to meet this period of emergency? The answer, in my opinion, is quite simple. During the last few years I have often said that life in peacetime should be as well disciplined as life under war conditions, and that during periods of national emergency armed hostilities should interfere as little as possible with peacetime plans for national progress. I have also said that wartime life is modern life itself and that individuals or societies today which fail to adapt themselves to wartime conditions cannot hope to survive but will be destroyed by others. If this idea is clearly grasped, the debate between ordinary and wartime education need not arise. Because of our former lack of wartime activities in peacetime, many today cannot adjust themselves to peacetime activities in wartime. One mistake leads to another.

This is not saying that education can stand apart from national necessities, shut itself off from the outside world, calmly ignore its environment, and unexcitedly carry on its routine activities while invaders run rampant over the country. On the other hand, war cannot be made an excuse for setting aside all our peacetime educational systems, courses of study, and school regulations, or for driving the nation's youth from classrooms, laboratories, and libraries into an entirely different environment in order to carry out ill-conceived and ill-directed emergency measures. We need, it is true, more men for our armies and, if necessary, we may draft even professors and college students into military service. But we also need a larger nucleus of capable men in every branch of our war activities, and we have found it necessary to train outside of the usual institutions, special personnel for certain types of emergency work. We need more technically trained men and more research scholars. Finally, we need all forms of basic education, especially during the war.

Because of wartime conditions and requirements, we shall

have to make use of extraordinary methods if we are to achieve our original educational objectives, and display an extraordinary spirit if we are to increase the effectiveness of our educational program. This is only what one would expect. With the nation at war, every grade of school must exercise the greatest economy in supplies and equipment, while teachers and students must practice Spartan-like simplicity in their living. Our history abounds in inspiring examples. There was the mother who, too poor to buy brush, ink, and paper, educated her son by writing Chinese characters with a reed on sand. This simple method did not prevent the boy from becoming a great man. There was the student who, too poor to buy oil for his lamp, read by the light of fire-flies which he carefully collected. There was another humble lad who during winter nights read by the reflection from the snow. These boys did not give up their studies for want of ordinary facilities. Our teachers and students should learn from them.

Educational problems such as training of students, broadening of the curriculum, elimination of non-essential courses, and making full use of existing personnel in promoting social education, are too numerous to mention here; but to all of them the same principle applies. We must not discard what is basic and essential because of temporary demands. We are fighting to preserve our national existence; we are also striving to regenerate our national life. Therefore, we must lay equal stress on wartime and post-war educational policy. Think how much higher the level of intelligence of our people must be raised if China is to become a modern State. To carry out our program of national reconstruction, we need thousands of specialists in different fields, millions of technicians and skilled laborers, and millions of teachers and other experienced men and women to organize and train the masses. We must depend upon our schools for the supply of these trained workers and for the solution of the many problems in the field of education and social change.

Time does not permit me to take up detailed questions with you. I hope that you will concentrate your attention on the fundamental question: how we may reinforce the determination of all the people to continue resistance until victory is won, and how we may build up a constructive attitude and spirit in our nation. We

must endeavor constantly to hold before the people the traditional virtues of our civilization. It is common knowledge that we are now short of certain essential materials. Although beset by dangers and difficulties we must undertake the stupendous task of making up for this lack. Unless we overcome our deficiencies, we cannot hope to win the war; and unless we utilize the traditional character as well as the modern revolutionary spirit of our people in an effort to create new materials, we cannot hope to succeed in reconstruction.

Our enemy is now trying by all kinds of tricks to crush our national spirit and to destroy both our traditional character and our modern revolutionary spirit. He would like to deprive our nation of its soul. Hence, nothing is more important today than the arousing and mobilizing of our national spirit. The Spiritual Mobilization Bill, which was recently brought up by the Government and approved by the People's Political Council, was designed for the purpose of strengthening our national morale in this critical period. Before long a definite plan for nation-wide enforcement will be worked out. I hope that all our educators will promote this movement and by their own example inspire men and women of all classes to support it. As our ancients said, "Teaching is undoubtedly the best way of changing the habits of a people and of establishing good customs." Every word and deed of our educators have a deep effect upon social life. Without exception, all our revolutionary movements during the past few decades have been popularized and directed by active groups of educators.

Our problem today is not so much how to raise what is fallen or to restore what is ruined as it is how to keep alive the spirit that is essential to our national existence. We must develop the traditional virtues of our people and use to the best advantage their readiness to sacrifice for the national cause. We must stimulate the national consciousness of the people and call forth their unyielding resistance to the enemy who is bent on their ruin. We must establish in the hearts of our people a firm faith in our revolution and in the future of our country. We must encourage in our people a fearless progressive spirit and a determination to struggle to the end. Then and then only can our great nation with its ancient civilization come through the intense sufferings and trials of today and enter upon a glorious tomorrow.

With our nation in the midst of a crisis, our educators must no longer shut themselves up and teach in a negative and leisurely manner. They must not be satisfied merely to impart knowledge to the students according to the curricula, or to regard teaching only as a means of earning their livelihood. Rather should they consider themselves as front-line warriors who are storming forts and breaking lances, as forerunners in social reform, as hardy founders of a new nation, and as sages and heroes who are playing a decisive role at a crucial moment of history.

We must not again make the mistake of advocating an educational independence that would place educators beyond the laws of the State as if they were a separate group.

Education today should be linked with all other activities, military, political, social, and economic. How can we connect education with military affairs? By showing students the connection between self-defense and national defense, self-government and national government, and by training them in defense and government. Those below the age of conscription should be ready to enlist upon maturity, and those already of age should prepare to be called to military service if necessary. But first each one must be equipped with some useful knowledge which can be employed in the War of Resistance.

How can education be linked with politics? "Be their teacher and then their leader," said the *Essay on Learning*. In ancient days the central personnel in the various grades of political office came from among the teachers. Today our educators should assume also the responsibility of training and organizing the people. What is meant by a link between education and society? Of late many school authorities have hesitated to undertake social education as an extra activity. Hesitation is excusable when finances, or the time and strength of the teachers are involved; but as a matter of fact, school education cannot hold itself apart from society. We learn by constant contact with other people. We cannot ignore the ignorance and sufferings of the masses. In order to further the aim of education and prevent the spreading of bad customs, we must make the people more civic-minded and improve the social environment of the school.

The relationship between education and economics is also a vital point in our reconstruction program. We must teach the people

how to work and produce so as to meet our national economic and reconstruction needs. Moreover, we must encourage creative ability among the people. Before our education can become a vital factor in the building of a modern state, our educational plans must be brought in line with our economic plans.

Let us not criticize our educators too harshly. The result of a person's work is naturally determined by his knowledge, abilities, and environment, as well as by the nature of the work itself. We cannot expect everyone to be a scholar or a specialist. Although there are wide differences between vocations, yet the fundamental disciplines should be the same for all citizens. If there is a common basic education, then everyone will be able to make some contribution to society and to the State. The central task of education is to build up the character of the people. This means that our educators who recognize their opportunity and responsibility, must have some common objectives. By their own teaching and example, they must help to create a new moral atmosphere in the nation.

I have a few serious suggestions to offer our educators. In the first place, I hope they will appreciate the real meaning of "respect for teachers and reverence for truth." As the *Essay on Learning* says, "It is difficult to be a severe teacher, but only when the teacher is severe will truth be revered, and only when truth is revered will the people respect learning." This kind of severity is very different from intimidation and harsh punishments; it means that teachers must be strict with themselves and upright in their own conduct before they can win respect for their teaching. We must definitely establish the dignity of teaching if we are to extend education throughout our country. When teachers can command respect, youthful students and all the people of the nation will naturally emulate them.

In the days of autocracy, when government was bad and officials corrupt, men of learning and virtue would often seclude themselves in order to teach. They enjoyed considerable prestige because of the noble principles to which they held, and also because even the emperors could not persuade them to take office.

But today we are a republic, and, from the high government officials down, all the citizens are serving the State and the people. Every educational institution, whether government or private, owes

a responsibility to the State instead of to thrones and rulers as in the days of old. No longer can educators consider themselves beyond the laws of the State. No longer can they look upon non-acceptance of official appointments as "pure and lofty" behavior and observance of the law as in some way damaging to their character and prestige. Unless these old mistaken conceptions are quickly and radically changed, how can we expect students to be anything but ill-disciplined, self-indulgent, and selfish? How can they become modern citizens? If we are really determined to bring about national salvation and regeneration through education, we must see that all educators obey the laws of the State and respect discipline. We must change our age-long individualistic habits and become a strong united people before we can defeat our enemy and carry out our post-war reconstruction program.

In the second place, we must have a common standard in building up the character of our people. The plans for moral discipline in schools must be simple and consistent. Although details of teaching method may vary on account of differences in location and in the nature of the institutions, a common goal is indispensable. At present, most of our schools select their own school mottoes and the moral precepts used are not uniform but often differ in emphasis. In my opinion, the eight ancient virtues preached by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Benevolence, Love, Truthfulness, Uprightness, Harmony, and Peace—together with the Rules of Conduct for Kuomintang members, can be laid down as a common code for our youth. In addition, all our schools should adopt *Li*, *I*, *Lien*, *Ch'ih* (Propriety, Justice, Integrity, and Conscientiousness) as their common motto. These four virtues are not only simple but practical. They embody the essentials of good citizenship admired throughout our national history, and also the spirit which citizens of modern China should possess.

Li (Propriety) implies mutual help and co-operation in discipline and order. *I* (Justice) implies gallantry, courage, a sense of responsibility, and willingness to sacrifice. *Lien* (Integrity) implies endurance of hardships, practice of economy, a clear distinction between public and private property, loyalty to one's own work, and non-interference with the rights of others. *Ch'ih* (Conscientiousness) implies independence and self-reliance, the power to

struggle and to advance. If these teachings, so deeply rooted in the life of our nation through millenniums of history, can now bring forth the qualities essential to modern citizenship, then our future is assured.

In the third place, I urge our educators to follow a common course, to concentrate upon common objectives, and to strive earnestly and sincerely for the realization of the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People). More than ten years have elapsed since the passage, by the first Educational Conference, of the resolution to promote education based on the *San Min Chu I*. An equally long period has passed since the promulgation (in 1929) of the "Aims of Education." Yet actually up to the outbreak of the present war, our people in general and our youths in particular had not been greatly influenced by the *San Min Chu I*. Even during the past months of hostilities, they have not exhibited a strong united faith in the *San Min Chu I*. This is unfortunate for the nation and is also a disgrace to all our educational administrators and educators.

If the highest principles of revolution and reconstruction are not made known to the masses, we cannot succeed in our revolution and our country cannot extricate itself from its present perils. On the shoulders of our educators rests a heavy responsibility for the future welfare of our nation. Let them not pay lip service to the highest principles of national reconstruction and at the same time deny these principles in their hearts. Let them not accept the outward forms and yet hold to their own views and do what they themselves please. The function of education is to teach the people, and a people without a common faith cannot stand firm. If our educators are insincere and impractical, how can we guide the people into unity of purpose and action? History teaches us that a nation overcomes dangers to its existence and achieves national security whenever a group of intellectuals and educators is able, in the face of internal dissensions and low morale, to rally men of a common mind and spirit, inspire them to struggle for one cause, and through them usher in a new period of national life.

Our War of Resistance has now reached its most critical stage. What the enemy most fears and most wants to destroy is our revolutionary and nation-saving *San Min Chu I*. If we educators wish

to save our nation, we must help to realize these principles. The Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) has been and still is eager for patriotic and capable men throughout the nation to join it and to aid in its struggle. At this moment when China's fate hangs in the balance, we are like people on a ship which faces immediate danger of being wrecked. We look to our far-seeing college administrators and teachers for help in rescuing the ship. The more revolutionary comrades we have, the greater will be our strength of resistance, and the easier will be the task of national salvation. In order to hasten our success in revolution and our victory in war, those of us at least whose duty it is to teach others should work for the Three Principles with one heart and purpose.

Speaking of the results of education, Hsun Tzu in his *Exhortations to Students* said, "Eyes will be bright when they are not looking at two things at the same time; ears will be keener when not listening to two sounds." Again he said, "A heart with one purpose is like a strong knot. The true scholar ties his many interests into one." This is another way of saying that education should move toward one goal. If teachers waver at the crossroads, if their eyes cannot concentrate on one object, and if their ears cannot be attentive to one sound, it will be impossible for them to train up brave and earnest scholars who can save their country.

With our nation in a state of emergency, we cannot afford to waste any more time or make any more mistakes in public affairs. Because we did not have a definite policy or a common faith in education before the war, we wasted ten years of time, and were unprepared for this national crisis. For the future of our nation, and for the welfare of our present generation of youth as well as of generations to come, I hope that our educational leaders will all unite under the banner of the *San Min Chu I*, and fight as one man for China's revolution and independence.

Our fellow-countrymen are fully aware of the many difficulties which confront the educational workers of the nation. Since the outbreak of the war, your hardships have been doubled, but through them you have demonstrated your worth. In the war areas, in the "occupied" territories, and in the great hinterland, we can see the results of your hard work and struggle. I can assure you that your self-sacrificing labor will eventually bear the fruit of national re-

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generation. Of course, we are not working for immediate results, but for the great satisfaction which will be ours when the task of national reconstruction is successfully completed.

Above all, you must develop self-reliance and self-respect. With one heart and one purpose, with the patient realization that "it takes many decades to grow men," with the moral courage reflected in the old saying, "If I do not do it who else will?" you should seek to translate what I have just said into actual deeds. As one of our ancient sages said, "Even worm-eaten wood is difficult to break if it is drilled only once, whereas persistent drilling will break the hardest diamond." This is another way of saying that where there is a will there is a way. I earnestly hope that this conference will achieve greater success than any previous educational gathering and that our educators will accomplish more than ever before for the defense and rebuilding of our country.

Spiritual Mobilization and Victory

A radio message to the people of China, broadcast from Chungking on April 17, 1939.

APRIL 17, 1939.

FEELLOW-CITIZENS: Beginning from May 1, the entire nation is to observe in full the Outline for National Spiritual Mobilization and the Measures for its Enforcement promulgated by the Supreme National Defense Council on March 12.

The very existence of our State and the fate of our nation depend upon this mobilization of our spiritual resources. I urge all citizens and especially all public leaders to promote this movement with all their strength and spirit.

Why must we strive to bring about a National Spiritual Mobilization? First, because spiritual strength is more powerful than material and armed force; and second, because we must make up for our spiritual deficiencies in the past.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us that the spiritual and material are complementary, not mutually exclusive. A person without spiritual life is not a complete or free person. A nation that loses its soul does not deserve to be free and independent. Spiritual force determines in the end the success or failure of any struggle. Visible material or military power does not completely determine victory or defeat. As Dr. Sun Yat-sen said, true strength must be nine-tenths strength of spirit.

That spirit is more important than material force has been amply demonstrated in many instances where a handful of Chinese soldiers have succeeded in routing many times their number of opposing troops, and where Chinese women have successfully defended themselves against the cruelties of the enemy. Our success in resisting the invader and in reconstructing our nation in the hinterland has been due largely to the strength of spirit and high morale of all our citizens. The closer we approach victory, the more difficult and dangerous will our task become, and the more

necessary it will be to mobilize all the spiritual forces of the nation in order to achieve final success.

As for our spiritual deficiencies, we recall that a few months after the outbreak of the war opinion abroad constantly declared that China was not strong enough from either a military or spiritual point of view to resist a foreign foe. This criticism challenged us to searching self-examination.

It is true that the Chinese people have displayed great heroism in the course of this war, yet we must realize that hostilities are not yet finished, the enemy has not yet been repulsed, and the final victory has not yet been won. We should constantly ask ourselves, "Have we done all we should do?"

Has the morale of our citizens become stronger with the duration of the war? Have our past defects been remedied? Have those in responsible positions fulfilled their responsibilities? Has everyone worked to the limit of his ability and strength? Has co-operation between the front and the rear become complete and efficient? Have military necessity and military victory come first in our thoughts? Have we in speech and action placed the State and the nation above all else? Can we resist to the end and keep firm, unselfish, and honest no matter what happens? Can we give every citizen complete confidence in the final success of our Resistance and Reconstruction program? Can we make the enemy, the puppets, and the traitors realize that our national spirit is a force to be reckoned with? Have we changed our ways of living to meet the demands of wartime? If we face these questions conscientiously we shall find there is much more that we can and should do.

If a nation is deficient in material things and the efficiency cannot be remedied immediately, this cannot be considered a national disgrace. Material production requires manpower, resources, and time, and the replenishment of material deficiencies is a slow process. But it is different when we are deficient in spiritual things. When the spirit fails, the possession of weapons and material resources is of no use. If a country is invaded by an enemy and lacks the will to resist, it does not merely suffer humiliation; it commits a great sin.

Remember that if we emerge victorious from this war and succeed in our program of national reconstruction, our history as

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a race will be unbroken and we may look forward to the establishment of a new China based on the Three Principles of the People. On the other hand, if we do not possess the iron will to resist, our independence will be lost, and historians will hold us up to shame for a hundred generations to come. Now is the time when the country needs every citizen and when every citizen should give his best to the country.

The Citizen's Pact is an instrument for resisting the enemy. We swear not to render service to the enemy or to traitors. If we are coerced at gun-point, we should prefer death to the breaking of our oath. We promise not to violate the Three Principles and not to do anything against the interests of the nation. No pressure of any kind or even threat of death should be able to make us break this solemn promise.

We must be ready to die for our country. We must be ready to dedicate every bit of strength we possess, and every drop of sweat and blood in our bodies to the defense of our native land and to the glorious future of our nation. If we do not fear to die, our enemy will fail and our nation will live. If our spirit is unconquerable, we cannot be conquered and the ultimate victory will be ours.

The Basis for Peace

*An interview with Chungking press correspondents
held on April 18, 1939.*

APRIL 18, 1939.

QUESTION: Some persons hold that Konoye's declaration may still be considered as the basis for peace between China and Japan. How, in your opinion, should such a person be dealt with?

ANSWER: The term "New Order in East Asia" is new, but the substance is nothing new. It is simply a clear admission by Japan of her ambition to conquer China and to destroy the rights and interests of third powers in the Pacific. I pointed this out last December. It would be shameless in the extreme for anyone to force the meaning of peace into this term. Our sole purpose in resisting the invader is to safeguard our national life, our liberty, and our independence. So long as our goal is unattained, we will not cease fighting. Under existing circumstances there is absolutely no possibility of peace. No advocacy of surrender, framed in words however ingenious or subtle, has the power to shake the determination of our whole country. Those who advocate a dishonorable peace are already condemned by the obloquy which they are suffering and by the isolated position in which they have placed themselves. That is sufficient for the present. Their legal punishment can wait.

QUESTION: How, then, can the Sino-Japanese war be concluded?

ANSWER: It depends upon the march of events. We should realize that in less than twenty-two months Japan's world position has been reduced by our resistance to that of a second-rate power. The moment will surely arrive when Japan can no longer bear the strain of the war. Then the hope of peace will dawn. Peace is also possible, provided that the Japanese militarists realize thoroughly their mistakes, voluntarily give up their attempt at conquest, and abandon once for all their traditional aggressive policy. Should they persist in dreaming of a "New Order in East Asia," as they

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call it, the war will come to no conclusion, and there will be no permanent peace in the Pacific. Every Chinese, not an imbecile or a traitor, will concur in this point of view.

QUESTION: How will the war situation develop? Will China fight to the bitter end according to her fixed policy?

ANSWER: Five years ago, in anticipation of the present war, I gave a lecture on "Resistance to Aggression and Renaissance of the Nation."* There you will find the gist of our plans. Our policy is to gain time by the sacrifice of peace and to win the final triumph through the accumulation of small victories. We should really congratulate ourselves upon the fact that after twenty-two months' grim struggle, we are still able to keep so many provinces intact. Even in those provinces where a few deserted capital cities are lost to the enemy, the rural districts with their great resources and population still remain under the control of our army. Not only have the invaders gained nothing substantial, but they have also been dragged deeper and deeper into the quagmire and have exposed themselves to our incessant assaults, as we anticipated and planned. Anyone who views the war situation as a whole and appreciates the underlying principles of our consistent policy will not easily be duped by the deceitful talk of traitors.

* See page 1.

The Citizen's Pact

*An address broadcast to the nation on the occasion
of the formal inauguration of the Spiritual Mobiliza-
tion Movement, Chungking, May 1, 1939.*

MAY 1, 1939.

COMRADES: Today marks the inauguration throughout the nation of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement and the promulgation of the Citizen's Pact. The opening ceremonies of the People's Monthly Political Meetings are being held today. It is also Labor Day. On such a significant occasion, I wish to share with you some of my hopes, and also to send a word of encouragement to our comrades suffering under Japanese military rule.

Our nation faces a turning point in its history. We have come to a crucial hour in our war of resistance. During the past twenty-two months we have paved the way for China's final victory, but the enemy is intensifying his efforts to conquer us; we dare not relax our vigilance. Only the most resolute determination will bring us victory. From today on, we must radically examine ourselves to search out any moral and spiritual weakness. We must be willing to root out all corrupt habits and make a new beginning in our thinking and living.

At the opening ceremony of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement, we swear before our ancestors and before the Father of our nation that we will carry out in full the Citizen's Pact, that we will forgo all undue love of ease, and that we will complete the task bequeathed to us by the patriots and martyrs who have died for our country. From today on, let us redouble our efforts to avenge the wrongs done to our country, and wipe away the stains of humiliation upon our national history.

Most of China's "humiliation days" come in May, each one reminding us of some shameful experience at the hand of Japan. Let every descendant of Hwang Ti, let every citizen of the New

China, resolve that we shall turn these days of humiliation into days of glory for our nation.

Here let me express my profound sympathy for all our compatriots in the "occupied" areas, especially for those in North China and Manchuria, and along the Hangchow-Shanghai-Nanking, Tientsin-Pukow, Peiping-Hankow and other railways, and all who are under alien rule. I am particularly moved at the thought of the aged—our fathers and elders—in these areas. Although I cannot see you face to face, yet I do not for a moment forget your sufferings. I know that you are eagerly longing for the day when we shall recover our lost territories, and that you are keeping alive the spirit of patriotism and resistance. Whenever I hear of your killing one enemy soldier, or destroying one pile of enemy goods, I am moved more deeply than by reports of military successes at the front. To kill one Japanese soldier in the Japanese rear is more important than killing one hundred on the battlefield. To offer moral resistance to the enemy and to refuse co-operation with him in the rear is just as important as fighting him at the front. All of our officers and soldiers remember you in your trials and are grateful to you for your unwavering loyalty to our country. We shall do all we can to measure up to your expectations of us and to free you from oppression.

We are from one ancestral stock. The same blood flows in our veins. War may separate us physically for a time but it cannot divide our love of country and our spiritual unity. If any today are not awake to the nation's peril, if any still indulge in loose and careless living or pursue selfish ends, if any still quarrel and loaf and temporize, they are not worthy citizens of the Republic of China; they are not true descendants of our great ancestor Hwang Ti!

I call upon all Chinese living in the foreign concessions of Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankow, and in cities like Hong Kong, especially young men and women, not to forget their nation's distress and humiliation. Be strong and self-reliant; preserve integrity of character; be faithful to duty; distinguish between right and wrong. I say this because of distressing reports that have come to me of young men and women in the foreign concessions who still spend their time in profligate pleasures with little thought of the dire

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need of their country. Let us not give the enemy reason to despise us; let us not give friendly nations occasion to criticize us. If they see that our youth are honest, brave, hard-working, patriotic, and self-sacrificing, they will have unbounded hope in our nation and respect for the character of our people.

The time has come for all of us solemnly to subscribe to the Citizen's Pact and promise that:

1. We will not act contrary to the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People).
2. We will not disobey the laws and orders of the Government.
3. We will not betray the interests of the State.
4. We will not become traitors to our country or subjects of the enemy.
5. We will not participate in traitorous organizations.
6. We will not become officers or private soldiers in the enemy or puppet armies.
7. We will not serve as guides for the enemy or for traitors.
8. We will not spy on behalf of the enemy or traitors.
9. We will not work for the enemy or traitors.
10. We will not accept banknotes of the enemy or puppet banks.
11. We will not purchase enemy goods.
12. We will not sell foodstuffs or other articles to the enemy or to traitors.

If we thus arm ourselves with moral strength and resist the temptations of the enemy, soon he will become afraid of us and give up the attempt to conquer us. Let us all, whether in free or "occupied" territory, take active part in the spiritual mobilization of our country, and resolve that from today on we will keep the Citizen's Pact and be strong, fearless citizens of China.

"Five minutes' enthusiasm" is not enough to make the Spiritual Mobilization Movement a success. We need unflagging determination and unfailing perseverance. The aim of the Movement is not only to arouse the moral energies of every citizen, but also to forge, out of this long and fiery trial, a new life for our people. Not once but again and again, not one day but every day, must we renew our determination to fight on, until the power of the aggressor is broken and China realizes her national ideals.

Spiritual Mobilization and the Citizen's Pact are invisible weapons stronger than airplanes and bombs; they are invincible means of resistance. The People's Monthly Meetings will be our spiritual fortresses, more effective than reinforced concrete, if we give up our careless old ways, and discipline ourselves to genuine hard work. The People's Monthly Meetings should also be like a drum-call to vigorous action, like a tocsin to warn us of the shameful servitude into which we will fall if we let the enemy conquer us. We should constantly remind ourselves: our country has been invaded, our fellow-countrymen have been murdered, our homes have been destroyed, our parents and brothers have been killed, our sisters have been raped. If we keep these things and the humiliations that our nation has suffered in the past fifty years always before us, there will be no danger of our relapsing into the old apathy. We will be stirred to superhuman efforts to wipe out our national disgrace and to regain our national liberty.

Let those who can lead lead, and set a good example to the people. Let the people encourage one another. Remember that one unworthy citizen is a disgrace to all. We are responsible for others' actions as well as for our own.

Let us learn from the history of our nation. Dynasties were overcome by alien races only when they became corrupt and decadent. When the government was good, when the nation was united, when the national spirit was strong, no outside power was able to subdue China. Our trials today are the result of misrule and corruption in the past. We must overcome the past, and build a new future. If we all are loyal and faithful, if we put the State and the nation above everything else and give first place to the war and all its demands upon us, if we keep our eyes fixed upon the final goal of victory and independence, then we will be unconquerable and our nation will come into a new and glorious day.

Wartime Production

An address before the National Production Conference, Chungking, May 15, 1939.

MAY 15, 1939.

MR. CHAIRMAN, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Gentlemen: The nation's experts in agriculture, engineering, mining, communications, and economic affairs are assembled here today to open the National Production Conference. It gives me great joy and hope to see each one of you.

Our nation is now engaged in two tremendous tasks, resistance at the front, and production in the rear. They must be undertaken as equally important and sacred missions. Without soldiers shedding their blood at the front, there can be no protection for production in the rear. Without production in the rear, there can be no support for resistance at the front.

This Production Conference is just as important as a military conference. Since the first day of the war the enemy has not only murdered our fellow-countrymen, forcefully occupied our territory, and burned our property; he has also blockaded our seaports, plundered our resources, bombed our cities, and tried to destroy all our productive enterprises. That our industrialists, under these difficult circumstances, have continued to support the government and have planned and struggled to keep up industrial production is a glorious record. Many of you have braved long journeys and grave dangers to come here. Your patriotism and courage are a precious asset to the nation.

All of us know that our material products are inferior to those of the enemy. Why is this so, when we have a vast country with unlimited resources? It is because our resources have not been developed by productive human effort, but have been left to waste in the soil. We have belittled production or we have produced without a plan and, as a result, our products are inferior to those of other nations. We must reform. In the military field we should

recognize and improve our troops so as to build up a modern national defense army. In the economic field we should improve our agricultural, manufacturing, and constructive enterprises so as to build up industry for national defense. During this Production Conference, I hope you will review the past and plan for the future, and devise a practical production program to meet our wartime needs that can be put immediately into effect. This is the chief duty of the conference.

As I have often said, economic strength, military power, and scientific education are the three main sources of a nation's life, as well as three essential elements of a national policy. A "modern" nation must be economically independent, militarily well-equipped, and industrially productive. The difficulties confronting our nation are numerous and varied, but one fundamental cause of them all is our economic backwardness. The aim of the enemy in his savage attacks upon us is simply to gain economic control over our country. At present the enemy is pushing his program of economic aggression in North China. We know that he cannot possibly succeed in all his poisonous schemes, yet we must recognize the real danger of these leeches to our national existence. When people are conquered in spirit their downfall as a nation begins; economic bankruptcy is the final and inevitable end. Today we must mobilize our moral forces in order to hasten the mobilization of our material resources. If we cannot increase our productivity while we fight, then we cannot hope to carry on a protracted resistance. Even if the nation wins a military victory it can still at any time be destroyed if the nation as a whole goes bankrupt.

These few days you have witnessed the reckless and inhuman bombing of Chungking. Such air raids give no military advantage to the enemy but they set fire to our buildings and bring death to our innocent civilians; they betray clearly the enemy's shameless cruelty. Japan vainly hopes by such methods to terrorize our spirits and to destroy our industries. We are saddened and yet more determined than ever. We must grind our teeth and bear the pain; we must intensify all our efforts and overcome all our difficulties; we must, in the midst of blood and fire, sharpen our weapons of the spirit and increase our material armaments. Not only must we by prolonged military resistance drive out the fierce enemy; we must

also by a prolonged economic program build up a rich, strong, and free New China.

Wealth and power are essential factors in the building of a nation. This has always been true, of China as well as of other nations, and in modern as well as ancient times. Unfortunately, many people do not fully appreciate this truth. We must all wake up to the fact that a country must be rich and strong before it can exist in the world of today; in order to be rich and strong the country must have sufficient food and military forces. Sufficient food means that production must be increased; sufficient military forces mean that armies must be reorganized and strengthened. Only with an adequate supply of food and soldiers can we carry on protracted resistance and establish a rich and strong country of, by, and for the people. Only by increasing production can we improve the people's livelihood and give the masses sufficient food and clothing. Only by increasing production can we preserve our material existence. In modern warfare the promise of sufficient military equipment and food supplies depends largely upon industry. Hence production is at the heart of the problem of national economy and also of the people's livelihood. Since our material products are inferior to those of other nations, we must, on the one hand, make up for our former deficiencies, and, on the other hand, forge ahead in our program of economic reconstruction. Reconstruction backs up resistance and furnishes resistance with a definite aim. A productive national economy is the essential foundation of a new and free China.

The life purpose of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was to build a rich and strong state wherein the people would enjoy security and happiness. This is also our purpose. Twenty years ago Dr. Sun Yat-sen formulated a statesmanlike economic program for China which is the basis for all our efforts today. Dr. Sun hoped to attract international capital after the World War to develop Chinese industries. Times and situations have changed; large-scale international investment in China may not be practicable just now. Yet we should continue to solicit foreign capital and, at the same time, undertake all the construction work we can with the means at our disposal. I propose the People's Economic Reconstruction Movement that our people might be stimulated to use their own resources and unite their own

efforts in the opening up of new natural wealth and in the production of new materials. However, I must say that we are far from completing our program. The Movement must be intensified all the more because we are engaged in war. Let me suggest some concrete objectives for your consideration.

1. Our capital resources should be concentrated. In order to develop state capital we must stimulate private investment and welcome the loan of foreign capital. The Government has already worked out a co-ordinated plan for the encouragement of private investors, Chinese and foreign. While we are waiting for large foreign loans we must do the best we can ourselves. Let all of our patriotic citizens overseas contribute capital, and the Government will give every possible protection to their productive enterprises. We hope that those capitalists and industrialists who are still wavering will look far ahead, see the benefit to themselves and to China of wartime industries, and quickly seize this opportunity to invest their capital and help their country.

2. National defense must be the keynote of all our productive efforts today. Defense and production are now bound up together. Industrial mobilization means that all our peacetime industries must be directed to wartime ends. Since the beginning of hostilities some of our industries have contributed splendidly to national defense. But we have lacked a national industrial plan. Too many of our industries were in the coastal cities and so were destroyed. Others were too slow in adapting themselves to wartime needs. Many have now removed to the Southwest and have made a new start. But time presses and we must immediately work out a national plan, reasonable, practical, and effective, for increasing production to meet the needs of national defense. Nothing is more urgently needed now than munitions and all kinds of military supplies. We must, however, at all times take into consideration the resources and means of communication in each area so that there may be division of labor and co-ordination of effort. The Government seeks the help of all industrialists in building a balanced national economy, suited to our varied geographical conditions and meeting our varied industrial needs.

3. The war presents us with an unusual opportunity for developing our small native industries to supplement the output of

our larger modern industrial enterprises. We must all strive for self-sufficiency in food and in all articles of daily use—especially those who live in the guerrilla or “occupied” districts. We must establish our own economic strongholds in the “occupied” districts and frustrate the enemy’s hopes of exploiting the raw materials and markets of these districts for his own advantage. If we redouble our efforts at economic self-sufficiency and increase our economic and moral strongholds in “occupied territory,” then we shall be able to carry out our plan of “all front resistance.”

4. We must study scientific methods of improving the quality of production. Scientific education and production should go hand in hand. Formerly, our science was not practical and our production was not scientific, with the result that neither made progress. Today, we are still dependent on imports for most of our machines, and we are unable to manufacture many of the materials we need. Let our industrialists and scientists co-operate, let them study together the problems of production and with creative minds find new materials, new substitutes, and new methods that can be used in our wartime industrial program.

5. The National Thrift Movement has an important role to play in the accumulation of money and materials for national reconstruction. We cannot afford any waste of manpower, materials, or time. Let us conserve our gasoline as we would our blood, our electric power as we would our breath, our iron as we would our very life. We should carefully save everything that can be sold in exchange for necessary imports. Unnecessary duplication and competition should be replaced by close co-operation and division of labor. We must practice thrift if we are to increase production and enrich our national economy.

6. Capital and labor must work together in order to ensure better order in production. The spirit of law and discipline must prevail in all our productive enterprises. Managers and workers, technicians and day-laborers must fight hard against all lazy, selfish, and corrupting habits and customs. Only the most capable, responsible, diligent, and self-sacrificing persons should be employed in government and private industries.

These six points can be summed up in two brief principles—increase production, and limit consumption. If we follow this

policy we can increase our supply of war materials, ensure a balanced development of government and private enterprises during and after the war, create a powerful and wealthy nation, and realize our mission of national reconstruction in accordance with the ideals of the *San Min Chu I*.

We expect our ancient land to have a glorious future. But we must not forget that great achievements require great efforts. If we are to drive out the invader and build a strong and prosperous nation we must cherish our ancient virtues of industry and frugality; we must be willing to endure hardships; we must suffer and sacrifice, create and produce. Production by a minority and consumption by a majority, production in old ways and consumption in modern ways, will only lead us to economic ruin and will bring shame upon our national spirit. All the people must produce, produce in greater quantity and with better methods than ever before. With our country facing unprecedented dangers, with the very existence of our nation in the balance, our old industry and frugality are not enough. Only by multiplied toil and suffering can we preserve the heritage bequeathed to us by our ancestors and pass on to our descendants a rich and good inheritance.

Bombing of Civilian Areas and Open Towns

A telegraphic message to the nation on May 16, 1939, following the severe air raids on Chungking and other cities.

MAY 16, 1939.

SINCE the beginning of this month, enemy planes have bombed residential districts throughout the country on more than fifty occasions. Civilian casualties in Chungking alone are counted by the thousands. Other cities subjected to ruthless and wanton bombings have been Foochow, Sian, Loyang, Hsiangyang, and Fancheng in Hupeh besides many cities and towns near the front lines. In addition, the following unfortified towns containing no military establishments whatsoever have been bombed, their streets covered with blood, their skies lit up with conflagrations: Chuanchow, Changting, Lunhai, and Tungan in Fukien; Kiungchow, Shiukwan, and Swatow in Kwangtung; Ningpo and Kinghwa in Chekiang; Hengyang, Chikiang, and Yuanling in Hunan; and Hangchung (Nancheng) in Shensi. The enemy has often said that he bombs military objectives only. But the falseness of this statement is apparent to everyone in China and abroad.

The enemy has three objectives in his widespread and cruel bombings of our towns and civilian populations. First, by incessant air raids he hopes to strike terror into the hearts of our people, forcing them into submission and surrender. Second, by fierce intensive air raids he hopes to hinder or destroy productive enterprises, destroying the livelihood of the masses. Third, by concentrated air raids he hopes to create disorder in the rear, weakening our powers of resistance.

The enemy well realizes that the people constitute the strongest bulwark against aggression, the real foundation of our revived nation. That is why he seeks to destroy our people, raining death on peaceful non-combatants in crowded centers. Even more terrible attacks from the air may be expected. We must, therefore, devise better ways of protecting ourselves. We must also strive to avenge the death of our innocent fellow-citizens. There are three things we must consider.

1. In nearly two years during which we have been resisting invasion, the unprecedented high morale and unity of purpose shown by our soldiers and civilians have won the genuine admiration of the whole world. Seeing this, the enemy has decided that only extreme ruthlessness will save his aggressive designs from failure and his military situation from immediate collapse; within the past half month he has indulged more and more in savage, unscrupulous bombings, the like of which the world has never seen. For nearly two years our people have borne their sufferings with patience, courage, and fortitude. Since the recent massacres from the air at Chungking they have gone about their work as usual and have shown the same calm and steady courage. Such sterling qualities of character will render futile the nefarious schemes of the enemy. In addition, all branches of the Government have been working night and day to devise efficient and permanent measures for safeguarding the people against the danger from the air. These measures are better and better each day, so that when raids occur in the future they will cost the enemy dearly without accomplishing his main objective of terrorizing our people.

We must realize that in the coming months the enemy will not confine his aerial bombing to one town or to one city. Since he is aiming at the whole Chinese race he will drop bombs everywhere. Past experience shows that although seats of government and military establishments have been bombed frequently, the damage usually has been comparatively slight, because our anti-aircraft guns have forced the enemy planes to keep to a high altitude. But places with no military objectives and with little air defense are also being bombed, incessantly and indiscriminately. It is clear that unless we strengthen our military defenses and carry on this war of resistance to the bitter end, our nation will be disarmed, our people will be killed, and not only our own generation but generations to come will suffer the humiliation and misery of alien domination. We must fight on, and wrest life from death.

I am sure that the suffering of the air raid victims is deeply graven upon the hearts of our people everywhere. They will not forget the brutality of the enemy until the death of our unfortunate brethren is avenged and the invaders are driven from our shores,

2. Before giving orders to city dwellers to evacuate, the Government makes all necessary preparations. The rural villages, with fertile fields where the people can plow and reap, and simple, plain cottages where they can work and rest, are the foundation of our national life. Such villages around our cities and towns are numbered by the thousands. If each rural family takes in one city person, there will be more than enough room to accommodate the whole of our city population. However, all those making their way into the countryside must obey the regulations laid down by our Government. In return for the hospitable welcome of their rural brethren, those who have technical abilities should help in rural development, and those who have received an education should help to teach the children of the farmers. In such an atmosphere of mutual assistance and good will our city people will be able to settle down in safety, and our country folk will become more progressive.

This movement to the countryside is not merely a temporary means of accommodating our refugees; it is a permanent highway to national reconstruction. To strengthen the villages and to increase rural production is to reinforce the foundations of our nation. Not only is the second objective of the enemy being frustrated, but our immense work of national rehabilitation will actually be accomplished that much sooner. Even though the enemy exhausts his aerial resources in attacking us, yet the area that he can damage in proportion to the extent of our territory and the number of our villages, will be like "a kernel of corn in a huge granary." When our city brethren are scattered into the villages, the enemy will be at his wit's end.

3. All government workers must intensify efforts to secure the safety of those who are obliged to remain in the city, by opening fire lanes, preparing sandbags, storing water, and by other precautionary methods. They must be faithful in the performance of their duties, and every citizen must obey orders. Then let the enemy bomb as he pleases; even if every missile hits its mark, it will destroy only an empty house. This will be more of a loss than a gain to the enemy. With more fire lanes opened there will never again be a great conflagration of closely connected houses, such as occurred on May 3 and 4. Other cities should follow the example

of Chungking which, under strict Government control, has a specified dugout for every inhabitant, an assigned position for every worker, and every detail organized. Thus the risk to those remaining in cities will daily decrease, and life for those out in the country will become settled. With peace of mind thus secured, all will work in harmony, each in his own place, and each with a definite task. It is certain that the enemy will come again and again to attack us, but if everyone follows the prescribed regulations we shall be able to live through this extraordinary time with everyday calmness and order, thereby avoiding unnecessary sacrifices. Let all branches of the Government, all police officers and men, and all ranks of officials and civic leaders help in the general mobilization, and in the maintenance of discipline and order. Thus the enemy's third aim will also be frustrated.

Regarding military developments: despite twenty-two months of effort on the part of the enemy forces, our soldiers are still heroically resisting the invaders around Lukouchiao, Peiping, and Tientsin; in the region northeast of Chahar and Suiyuan; and along the Kiaochi (Tsingtao-Tsinan), Shanghai-Nanking, and Shanghai-Hangchow railways. They are actively attacking and recovering important cities and towns on the southern front. Although Anking and Kaifeng, former provincial capitals of Anhwei and Honan, fell into enemy hands a year ago, they are not only subjected to constant Chinese raids but are frequently occupied by our forces.

Henceforth, the attack, defense, occupation, or abandonment of important cities and towns in the "occupied" areas will rest in our hands. Never before in history has such a thing been witnessed in a war of national liberation. The enemy, sucked into deepening mire, is not only under constant counter-attacks but is even being encircled. The danger facing him is far more serious than is yet realized by the world, a new thing in the history of warfare. If one leaves out of consideration the resolute determination of our people and the economic stability of our country, and judges merely from military developments and the comparative advantages and disadvantages of both sides, there is ample evidence to show that the final victory will be ours.

The enemy has boasted to the world about his well-trained army, but its record since it has met our resistance is known to all.

The effective strength of the enemy's air force is not more than two thousand planes. Even if these two thousand planes could be used to the fullest extent, they might bomb our two thousand county seats, but they could never destroy our 70 million farm homes. They might kill a number who had not time to reach safety, but they could not shake the determination of 450 million people to resist.

Our indomitable national spirit has been manifested again and again in our long history and most vividly during alien invasions. Shining examples of loyalty and patriotism might be cited, when men faced death calmly and heroically, "as if it were but a going home." The massacres of our people by the Manchus at Yangchow and Kiating, and in recent years by the Japanese at Tsinan and Nanking, have been added to the glory of our national spirit. The enemy's reckless bombings cannot shake our will to resist. They will only refine our national character, strengthen our national unity, and make more solid the foundations of our national life.

Furthermore, this ruthlessness of the enemy has become a boomerang, producing disastrous effects among his own people. Were not the explosions of army depots and chemical works near Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, Fukuji, and other places caused by war-weary and anti-war elements?

The recent bombings of our cities have been cruel and hateful enough, and yet the enemy, in his desperation, has not confined his atrocities to aerial massacres. Our fellow-countrymen in the "occupied" areas are suffering more than we who live merely under the threat of bombings. Men are being enslaved, women are maltreated. Many are being forced to take poisonous injections and narcotic drugs. The enemy would not only murder us from the air, but also make us eat poison and destroy ourselves. Unless we unite and drive out this terrible enemy we cannot hope to avenge the wrongs inflicted upon us, or save our nation from ruin.

Let all provincial, municipal, and local governments guide the masses, in accordance with the orders of the Central Government. Let all our armed forces and civilians work together with one heart and one soul to wipe out our national humiliation, to win our War of Resistance, to accomplish our national reconstruction, and to lay the foundations for a free and independent China.

China's Struggle and International Peace

*A message to the Second Annual Conference of the
China Branch of the International Peace Campaign
held at Chungking on May 21, 1939.*

MAY 21, 1939.

AN INVITATION to address your meeting has been extended to me and I gladly respond. Against a background of war here, and preparations for war elsewhere, you are meeting to discuss ways and means of securing true peace in the world. Your gathering is charged with a peculiar significance, arising out of the seeming incompatibility of your noble objectives with the appalling set of the tide in world affairs today.

If anything, however, can avail to stem that tide, it is your determination not to despair of peace. And that determination must be founded, as you have found out, upon the only realistic basis that remains today—not an outworn and discredited pacifism, but a bold and positive resolution of the sane majority in the world to oppose an insane minority. A State does not permit its criminals freedom to do as they please; the world must learn to recognize, restrain, and punish the irresponsible and perverted individuals who lead their nations into courses as injurious to world peace as the conduct of criminals is to the well-being of society.

We firmly believe that the War of Resistance in which China is now engaged will have a powerful deterrent effect upon all aggressors. It is our devout hope that the demonstration we mean to give of an aggressor's collapse may not be achieved too late to avert a vaster war involving the whole world.

Let us peace-loving nations realize what a salutary warning to the enemies of world peace would be the success of China's defense, and let them join in checking the rampant ambitions of Japan. The day of peace for which we long would come more quickly.

On that day, all our efforts and sacrifices will be proved doubly

worthwhile. We shall have fought not only for ourselves but for the world. Our enthusiasm and courage will have inspired all opponents of aggression to stand firm with us and not yield to oppression. The international significance of this war fortifies our resolution to continue the struggle.

Let peace-loving nations look upon the naked reality of war as waged by a ruthless enemy upon our soil, let them take to heart the terrible miseries and sufferings that we have endured, and let them be warned. Let them rise and resist aggression before it is too late. That is the consolation I desire for all that China now endures.

I am grateful for the opportunity to lay these thoughts before you and I wish you all success in the cause of peace which is ours as well as yours.

A Call to Overseas Chinese

*A message published in Hua Ch'iao Hsien Fêng,
The Overseas Chinese Semi-Monthly Magazine,
Vol. I, No. 13.*

JUNE 21, 1939.

OUR War of Resistance, now in its twenty-third month, has entered a second phase. Our enemy is approaching exhaustion. His dreams of subduing China by cruelty and intrigue have been shattered.

Taking advantage of this favorable turning point, we are launching a National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, in order to reinforce the fighting morale at the front, and to strengthen the work of reconstruction in the rear. The Movement is also being extended into the "occupied" areas in order to prevent the enemy from establishing puppet regimes. We are demonstrating to the world our determination to fight on until we achieve our freedom.

The method to be used in promoting this important Movement will naturally depend upon varying local conditions. But the principles of the Movement, which point the way to victory, are the same everywhere and hence should be applied with equal enthusiasm at home and abroad. Overseas Chinese have been closely linked with revolutionary activities in China and have never ceased to contribute material and spiritual aid. Their whole-hearted support of the Government in our present War of Resistance has moved me deeply. I wish now to make clear to the millions of our compatriots overseas the aims and principles of this new Movement.

Overseas Chinese have written a long and glorious chapter in the history of our revolution. In the writings of our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and in the records of our national revolution, we find many accounts of their shining exploits. Through the long period from the fall of the Ming Dynasty to the last years of the Ching Dynasty, their forefathers, who saw the corruption of the

government and realized the danger to coming generations, planted the seeds of that patriotic spirit which is now flowering. When Dr. Sun started to overthrow China's ancient monarchical system and the 260-year old tyranny of the Manchus, and set up a republican form of government, he received powerful support from overseas Chinese. Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities our brethren overseas have contributed lavishly of manpower, materials, and money to help their country. This proves that our more than four hundred million people are absolutely united. The patriotism of Chinese living abroad has won world-wide admiration and has increased the prestige of our country. Our soldiers, ready to pour out their life-blood upon the battlefields, were profoundly moved when they heard how their overseas brethren were saving every cent to swell the war chest. Our wounded heroes are greatly stirred when they receive treatment from overseas medical units, ride in ambulances driven by fellow-countrymen who have returned from abroad to help their fatherland, and use medicines sent by their compatriots from all over the world, and they resolve to go back to the front as soon as they are fit. Our civilians, whose homes have been destroyed, and whose parents and children have been killed, are much comforted by the steady stream of money, food, clothes, and other necessities sent home by their overseas brethren; they know that they have not been forgotten in their sufferings. Such widespread sympathy has greatly relieved and inspired our people. It is most inspiring, moreover, to see thousands of Chinese leaving comfortable positions abroad and returning to their war-torn fatherland to assist in its reconstruction.

Our War of Resistance has benefited much, materially and spiritually, from this continuous support by overseas Chinese. I can assure our overseas brethren that for every drop of sweat they give, we will give a drop of blood. Whatever sacrifices they make will be gloriously repaid. No efforts or money given to the national cause will be wasted. The blood and sweat of our people, at home and abroad, will lay a firm foundation for our new nation. Therefore, during the last Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, it was voted to circularize two telegrams, one to encourage the soldiers at the front, and the other expressing the nation's appreciation to overseas Chinese for the spirit of noble sacrifice, no less val-

uable than that of soldiers at the front, which they have continuously manifested.

Overseas Chinese have played an admirable part in the Revolution and in the present struggle against Japan. What is their responsibility to the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement? First, they should examine themselves for any shortcomings. This war is being waged for liberty and justice; for the renaissance of the nation bequeathed to us by our ancestors; for the recovery of the great position which we once held in the world; for manifestation to the world of our true national character; and for the cause of peace and righteousness among all nations. Everyone should carefully examine himself, therefore, to see whether he is carrying his full share of the war's heavy burden. For the past twenty-three months our overseas brethren have displayed a magnificent patriotism and an eager desire to serve their homeland. They have not only bought national salvation bonds, but they have even presented them as gifts to the State. Such a spirit of sacrifice reveals the character of our people at its very best. When I see such devotion to our country, I know that we can never be conquered. However, a nation's salvation depends upon the efforts of all of its citizens. Therefore, we must see to it that everyone, old and young, man and woman, boy and girl, does his or her duty. No one should shirk his or her share of responsibility, or continue to enjoy an easy life as long as our soldiers are giving up their lives upon the battlefields. Those who are living a comfortable life abroad should seriously question themselves whether they are doing all they should for China, whether they are acting in such a way that foreigners will respect them and sympathize with their nation's struggle for liberty. Are there jealousies and factions in their organizations which weaken their sense of unity, or are they absolutely one in the support of China's cause? Are they willing to fight to the bitter end, supporting the policy of their Government despite the lures and threats of the enemy and of traitors?

The objectives of our National Spiritual Mobilization Movement are: (1) The State and the nation must be above all; (2) military necessity and the winning of the war must have the right of way; and (3) the will and the strength of the nation must be concentrated upon the achievement of victory. These three objectives

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must be impressed upon the mind of every citizen. If realized, they will form impregnable spiritual fortifications for our country.

The first step in the promotion of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement is the Citizen's Pact. Every citizen should subscribe to this pledge with its twelve articles covering all phases of life at the front and in the rear.*

Although overseas Chinese are living far from the scenes of fighting, yet they too are exposed to the danger of enemy intrigues. They should absolutely refuse to co-operate with the Japanese militarists and the Chinese traitors who have become their puppets. They should keep on striking blows at both. Apparently, the enemy at last realizes that his savage cruelty has aroused hatred among Chinese everywhere, so he is now trying a different method, one no better than before but more cunning and deadly. With the help of a few shameless traitors he is trying to persuade our people to become obedient slaves. In the name of puppet organizations, he publishes literature denouncing our Government and leaders and urging our people to buy Japanese goods. He gives fictitious names to various Japanese controlled agencies to fool our people living abroad. He tempts merchants with all kinds of financial inducements to sell his goods. The Citizen's Pact will be a barrier of steel against all such machinations. If we observe the Pact faithfully we will not disgrace the heritage we have received from our ancestors, nor will we "take a false step that will lead to endless remorse."

I know that our overseas brethren have long practiced non-co-operation with the enemy. In the South Seas they have refused to work in enemy mines; in America they have refused to load scrap iron bound for Japan. They have won a sympathetic response from laborers in friendly nations. In some places they have organized or supported boycott movements, and have done much to stop the buying and selling of Japanese goods. They are true sons of Hwang Ti!

The twelve articles of the Citizen's Pact are restrictions born of conscience. I hope that the leaders of Chinese groups abroad will explain these articles often to our people and see that they are fully observed. Methods of promoting the Spiritual Mobilization

* The Citizen's Pact is translated in full on page 223.

Movement should be adapted to conditions and needs in each country. But our chief aim always should be to win the sympathy and support of all our fellow-countrymen. If we begin our promotional work in the large centers, we will the more quickly counteract the enemy's lying propaganda.

I wish to suggest four concrete things which you can do.

1. Be worthy representatives of the Chinese racial character. For sixty years, but especially since July 7, 1937, the enemy's treatment of our people has been indescribably cruel. Those living far away from their homeland have seen in moving pictures only an infinitesimal fraction of what China has suffered from aggression. The truth is that the enemy has never regarded us as human beings. He has behaved worse than wild beasts to the people living in the invaded areas. To preserve the integrity of our race, we must wash with our blood this foulness from our land. Our overseas brethren are constantly in the public eye; they are seen and heard by people of many nations. They should show the world that we are a conscientious and courageous race, worthy to enjoy liberty and equality in the family of nations. We want you above all to realize that a large-scale war is going on in the fatherland, that your countrymen are living under war conditions and are experiencing untold hardships and sufferings while on the battlefields thousands of soldiers are daily sacrificing their lives. In view of this, all Chinese living abroad should arouse themselves to the most earnest efforts and practice severe frugality and self-denial. They should avoid any action unbecoming to a great people, and, at the same time, encourage all activities helpful to their nation's cause. At such a critical time no true Chinese will indulge in low pleasures that will injure his own or his country's good name. This is the opportunity of a thousand generations to serve the fatherland. Overseas educators and intellectuals must assume the responsibility of directing the lives of their countrymen, especially in the matter of amusements. Parents must faithfully train their children and keep them from learning evil ways that waste hard-earned money and bring unfavorable foreign criticism upon the Chinese people.

2. Promote the education of overseas Chinese, especially technological education, and raise their cultural standards. Children should be taught to study diligently, to love and serve their father-

land so that they will be a credit to their race. Young overseas Chinese should ever keep in mind their duty to the land of their ancestors. They have a better opportunity to acquire scientific knowledge than their brothers in China and they should take good advantage of this opportunity. When you have completed your training you should answer promptly the call of your country. Above all you must maintain your integrity of character and the virtues of our national life. Hold yourselves in high respect. No amount of learning can be a substitute for lack of character. Keep proudly in mind your country's great history and the civilization of four thousand years; encourage yourselves with the thought that we are building, upon the foundations which Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid for us, a still more glorious future.

3. Promote international co-operation and broaden the scope of publicity for China. Expose the pernicious intrigues of the enemy. Win greater sympathy for our cause. We are sincerely grateful for all the support that foreign friends have given us. Let us supply more and better information to friendly countries to counteract the enemy's propaganda. Take active part in all pro-Chinese activities within the laws of the countries where you reside.

4. Invest your capital in industrial enterprises in China. Your remittances have greatly benefited the Government and people of your native land. Your large contributions, since the beginning of the present struggle, have been of inestimable help to the nation. If you can invest your capital systematically in a productive program you will give a tremendous impetus to the War of Resistance and to reconstruction. Both our Southwest and Northwest are rich in natural resources and comparatively secure from attack; they can be quickly turned into great industrial areas and strongholds for prolonged resistance. Many overseas Chinese have already brought their savings here and I hope more will follow their example. The Government's policy is to guarantee the interests of the people, to encourage production, and to protect investments. As reconstruction is now a major national objective, I hope that Chinese abroad will not fail to do their part.

One final important word. We must be united. At times in the past overseas Chinese have failed to co-operate fully because of language differences or conflicting points of view. Today there is

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but one goal before us. We are fighting in defense of one fatherland. We must stand together as one man. My beloved fellow-countrymen who live across the sea, you are representatives abroad of our race and civilization, and it is your mission to uphold the honor of our country. The civilized peoples of the world at last realize the barbarous character of our enemy, who has killed our men, raped our women, and bombed our unfortified cities. Now let all overseas Chinese join in the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement to show the world the high ideals and united spirit of our people in this struggle.

No social movement can be successful without long hard effort. There is no such thing as quick success. In the past many national and social movements have failed because of the lack of persistent endeavor. Perseverance is essential to success of any kind, whether in invention, industry, or nation-building. Like a miner who fails again and again but keeps on trying until success crowns his efforts and more than compensates for all his former failures, so we must struggle on until our national liberty is won and success atones for all the sufferings and losses of the present time.

Our overseas brethren are extremely patriotic because they themselves have suffered often from prejudice and discrimination. We know that the renaissance of the fatherland is your fervent hope. Your loyalty has greatly inspired us. The fall of Canton and the bombing of Foochow, where so many of you have your ancestral homes, have only intensified your hatred of Japanese militarism. But we can never wipe out our national humiliation unless we win the war and succeed in our program of national reconstruction.

Let me give you a word of encouragement. We have begun to take the offensive. That the enemy is becoming tired can be seen clearly in northwestern Hupeh. The enemy's bombing of unfortified cities in that area and the employment of traitors to work for compromise are signs that he cannot make any further advance.

We greatly need the struggle and sacrifices of our overseas compatriots. The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement calls upon us to make a supreme united effort, and to fight through the deep defile of our present crisis to the clear, open road of freedom that lies beyond.

The Only Answer to Aggressors

A message to the China Campaign Committee, in London, July 7, 1939, on the second anniversary of the Sino-Japanese hostilities.

JULY 7, 1939.

OUR two years of resistance have proved the soundness of our conviction that the only effective way of dealing with aggressors is to fight relentlessly against them.

During this period all other means of discouraging aggression and of maintaining respect for international order have proved useless. International pacts have become mere scraps of paper; the system of collective security has collapsed. The surging tide of aggression has reached every corner of the globe and humanity now faces such a crisis as it has never before known. Failure to understand the true character of aggressors and the way of checking their boundless ambitions is responsible for the deplorable condition into which the world has sunk.

The impending crisis is of unprecedented gravity because scientific and economic advance has made the modern world indivisible. The effects of any disturbance in one part of the world are inevitably felt in other parts; and if ignored or neglected they bring incalculable trouble to all. Had the signatories of the Nine-Power Pact and the Covenant of the League of Nations stood by their pledges during the Japanese invasion of Manchuria eight years ago, instead of temporizing, they might not have found themselves in their present predicament.

The recent statement made by Mr. Alexander, former First Lord of the Admiralty, regarding the extension of Japanese naval influence in the South Pacific, deserves serious study by the advocates of the so-called policy of appeasement. These persons should also take to heart the words of Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, regarding the failure of Britain's forbearance to evoke the response from the aggressors that was expected.

China has shown herself better acquainted with the minds of aggressors. Had law-abiding nations determined from the very beginning to oppose aggression, those who contemplated aggression would have taken warning and drawn back before committing themselves irretrievably to aims that could be realized only by violent courses of action. But now these aggressors are being carried along by the powerful momentum of their unrestrained ambitions.

By resisting Japan we have dragged her into a position where her chief question is how to extricate herself. We have done more: we have begun to show Japan that she has no other hope of escaping ruin but to abandon once and for all her dreams of conquest. Had we not fought, but yielded continually to one preposterous demand after another, Japan would now offer a far graver threat to world peace. By fighting against aggression we have made a contribution to world peace in the only way possible under the circumstances of today.

Prepare for Victory

A message to the Chinese armed forces and civilians on July 7, 1939, the second anniversary of the war.

JULY 7, 1939.

TO ALL our Officers, Soldiers and Civilians: Today is the second anniversary of our War of Resistance. Compared with a year ago the battle fronts are longer and fighting is more intense. The determination of our armed forces and civilians to sacrifice for the national good is much stronger, and the weaknesses of the enemy militarists are more apparent. The enemy is becoming more desperate and ruthless and his intrigues increase in number and malevolence.

We are fighting for our national independence and for international justice. In a war which is revolutionary in nature, the time factor counts but little. Let us struggle on until we reach our goal of national reconstruction. Let us overcome every obstacle on the way to ultimate victory. Let us not forget the supreme sacrifices made by our fallen heroes, the gallantry of our soldiers at the front, and the untold sufferings of our war-stricken fellow-countrymen.

While we sorrow for the dead, let us not forget the responsibilities of the living. Let every one do his utmost to wipe out our nation's disgrace and to fulfill the mission upon which our nation is now engaged. On the occasion of this sad but grand anniversary, I wish to send a special message to our military forces and to all our compatriots at home and overseas.

On July 7 of last year I outlined the general military situation and forecast future developments, pointing out our duties and responsibilities. I shall not repeat what I have said but I ask that you read again that message and compare what I then said with the situation as it is today. You will find that my predictions have come true.

First, let us speak of ourselves. Although we have experienced

severe trials and difficulties during the past twelve months, yet the longer we fight the stronger and more determined grows the will of our people. The spirit, purpose and activities of our people have been further unified under the guiding principles of the *San Min Chu I*, and everyone is now ready to die for his country and for the realization of the Three Principles. With loyalty, courage and hope we shall fight on to the end. Comparing our present achievements with those of the first year of hostilities we see that the battle lines have been extended, warfare behind the enemy lines has become more intense, and reconstruction in the hinterland is increasingly effective. Furthermore, the masses have a deeper understanding of the issues at stake in the war.

The enemy's fighting strength, on the other hand, is steadily weakening, and therefore he resorts to indiscriminate bombing of our cities and towns and slaughter of our innocent civilians. With what result? He merely adds fuel to the fires of hatred, and makes us more determined than ever to fight to the end. As the leader of our military forces I am happy to tell you that we have overcome most of our past shortcomings and that both our soldiers and our civilians have shown great improvement during the past year.

We have made gains in our international relations. Article 16 of the League Covenant, which last year was reluctantly considered by the Powers, has this year been invoked against Japan. The League has definitely named Japan as the aggressor. Public and private bodies in friendly nations throughout the world have denounced Japan's aggression and have helped us by boycotting Japanese goods, by refusing to sell to Japan and by sending money and medical supplies. Our sympathizers have increased a hundred-fold and are giving active expression to their sympathies. Our relations with friendly powers have been improved; they are helping us more openly and in more concrete ways. They manifest growing friendship for us and growing antipathy toward our enemy. We are deeply grateful for all these expressions of goodwill, but even more do we rejoice in the greater support for justice and righteousness in international relations.

From the Marco Polo Bridge incident to the first anniversary of the war a year ago today, the enemy advanced 1,800 kilometers, while from July 7 of last year to the same date this year, the advance

was only 510 kilometers. Although the hostile forces were reinforced many times during this period, yet their successes were much reduced. This decline means that our victory is drawing nearer.

According to the enemy's own reports, his casualties up to March of this year totaled over one million, and the number is now much greater. Notwithstanding his reckless sacrifice of men during the past three months, our enemy has accomplished nothing. The so-called "mopping-up" campaigns have met with severe counter mopping-up operations. As for the enemy's boasted successes in his April and May campaigns, everyone can see how insignificant they are.

Early this spring Konoye's cabinet, called in Japan the "only cabinet," collapsed. The enemy is becoming desperately poor, unemployment is increasing, prices are soaring, gold reserves are already being exhausted, and rural economy is on the verge of collapse. Anti-war feeling is becoming more widespread. Thousands of professors and other intellectuals have either been put to death or imprisoned. Japanese soldiers in China have become infected with the same anti-war sentiments. On the diplomatic side there is every possibility that Japan will find herself one day in complete isolation. The proposed alliance with Germany and Italy, by which she hoped to bolster up her morale, was coldly frowned upon by these countries because of Japan's declining military strength and increasing poverty. Therefore Japan, seeking to deceive the democratic nations into believing that she was still on their side, pretended that she did not want to join the Fascist bloc!

When this scheme failed, the Tientsin incident was created and all sorts of illegal demands were made on England. We may predict that as Japan draws nearer to the end of her tether she will create more such incidents, but we can be certain that she will fail in the future as she has failed in the past. As Japan becomes more desperate she will take greater risks until at last she collapses, just as a man, mad with thirst, takes a drink of poison for temporary relief only to fall dead later. Our enemy has brought upon himself not only the condemnation but also the punishment of the civilized world. During the past two years we have played the active role in military and diplomatic affairs, while the enemy has followed step by step in the road we have marked out for him and is now

entangled in a snare from which there is no escape. The longer our enemy struggles, the more he involves himself in difficulties; while the longer we struggle the stronger and more determined we become.

One of the most important statements made during the past year was that by Prince Konoye on December 22, 1938. Since the beginning of our second year of resistance the enemy has longed for a speedy victory. But he has not shown any realization of the wrongs he has committed, nor any evidence that he intends to relinquish his policy of aggression. Since he has failed to conquer us by armed force, he is now attempting all kinds of peace intrigues. The peace he proposes would be worse than that made by Japan with Korea, for he would want to swallow the whole of China. At the time I made a complete refutation of Konoye's statement, and I am sure that our soldiers and civilians have a clear understanding of the situation. The failure of the enemy intrigues and my full exposure of them have been a severe blow to the enemy and clearly presage the enemy's downfall. However, Japan has not abandoned her vain hopes. She cannot withdraw the slogan of a "New Order in East Asia." Though the so-called "Unity of East Asia," "Asia Development Bureau," and such phrases are empty of reality, yet Japan clings to them.

It is hardly necessary to assert that we shall fight on with the same resolution that has marked our resistance in the past. The sad thing is that there have actually been some men shameless enough to respond to a statement that would spell China's doom and to turn openly against the Party, the nation and the people. These men have already been denounced by public opinion and condemned by State law. But we have to admit that their treachery forms the darkest chapter in the history of the last twelve months, and is a disgrace which keeps our fallen heroes from sleeping in peace. Frankly speaking, the traitors' peace movement is nothing but a movement for the destruction of our nation. The day the "New Order in East Asia" is established, that day China becomes a vassal State. Since the announcement of the "New Order in East Asia," Japan has clearly shown that she wants to destroy our nation and to enslave our people. There is therefore no ground for talk of peace. We have no choice but to fight on until we achieve complete victory

and attain fully the goal of our War of Resistance. There is no other road for us to take. Surrender half-way will mean only a traitors' peace, a slaves' peace, the peace of death. No one but those who want to sell their country would deny this.

Since the beginning of the second phase of the war at the end of 1938, both our internal and external affairs have taken a more favorable turn. Final victory is now in sight. Just at this critical time the traitors plan to break our fighting strength by lying propaganda. They hope to deceive the masses, shake our faith in the war, impair the morale of our blood-stained and heroic defenders, and bring to naught the labor and sacrifice of those who have died for their country. They would drag their own country in the mire to save an enemy country. Never before in all history has there been such heartless and shameful behavior.

We know that the Japanese militarists are digging graves for themselves and for all traitors who sell out to them. And yet these traitors seem willing to drag the whole Chinese race, with its glorious history of five thousand years, to death with them. What heartlessness, what utter insanity! Our soldiers and civilians, tried by this experience, show that they can clearly distinguish between right and wrong and that they are not at all shaken in their devotion to the nation. This is one of the greatest achievements of the past twelve months.

From now on there will be no serious dangers to fear if only we push steadfastly on to the goal of victory. We have already covered the most difficult nine-tenths of the way. Let us redouble our efforts and shatter the morale of our enemy and of all traitors. Let us give our very flesh and blood in exchange for victory; let us wash out the disgraceful stains which the traitors have brought upon our racial character. "We will not stand under the same sun with traitors." He who does not understand this declaration is not a true Chinese. He who is not determined to defend his country is not a true son of Hwang Ti.

Soldiers and civilians, the most important thing at the present time is an inflexible will to victory and a confident faith in final victory!

The longer any war lasts the more difficult it becomes for all engaged in it. The nearer we approach the end of the war the more

we will need to possess courage and endurance. I do not for a moment deny the hardships and sufferings of all our soldiers and citizens, but our determination to endure and to sacrifice must be further strengthened. As the war is prolonged our fighting powers must be further increased. Our sufferings and sacrifices will not be in vain! They already possess the highest value and the most sacred meaning. By them the glorious heritage of our ancestors is being preserved and the happiness of our posterity is being assured. If we of this generation do not begrudge hardship and do not fear danger, if we do not yield but hold out to the end, our sufferings of the moment will secure the well-being of our children and our children's children for a hundred generations. But if we shirk difficulty and shrink from danger, if we become lax and easy-going, and simply hope that by some good chance our nation will escape destruction, our moments of ease will bring upon our descendants long years of humiliating slavery and generations of untold suffering. The enemy is trying every possible scheme against us. We are not afraid of difficulties or dangers; they cannot be avoided but they can be overcome by our united efforts. Aggression is not stopped by surrender or compromise. It can only be overcome by armed opposition. To be undaunted by superior military might is to demonstrate the traditional spirit and the moral integrity of our nation and of our army.

The road before us becomes brighter each day. At the same time our responsibilities become heavier. We must persevere the more, we must be the more on our guard, and we must ask ourselves the more earnestly whether we are striving to the limit of our strength.

Today is the beginning of the third year of war. Every one of our compatriots should resolve to do his very best wherever he is serving. Two especially important duties are laid upon us. The first is a moral and spiritual duty. We must understand clearly the principles of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement and know how to express them in action. We must consolidate our unity, strengthen our patriotism, and increase our self-confidence. We must believe that the enemy fears us, not we the enemy. We must be diligent and hard-working, get rid of all bad habits of laziness, carelessness and inefficiency, learn to be quick and accurate, and strive hard to

finish our tasks. We must recognize that the first requirement of a citizen today is absolute support of the authority and laws of the State, especially wartime laws which are as strict as military orders. Nobody should try to stand outside the law. All our soldiers and civilians who understand the profound importance of the law and of the national policy should give united and unfailing support to them. Then they will be a credit to the Chinese nation and deserve the name of sons of Hwang Ti.

Our most urgent military duties are: to improve the political training of officers and soldiers; to strengthen our military organization; to increase our fighting strength; and to elevate the morale of the army. Those at the front must redouble their efforts to drive out the enemy. They must take to heart all the lessons we have learned in blood; they must map out more careful plans; they must frustrate the enemy's advance more effectively and hasten his total collapse. In the war zones there must be closer co-operation between the various mobile units, and between these units and the people. Their duty is to keep the enemy in check and to attack him constantly in the rear. All citizens must be willing to enlist, undergo military training, enter the army and dedicate themselves to the nation. All government agencies, military and political, must faithfully perform their duties. All officers and men must maintain the high standards and reputation which the Chinese soldier has earned in this war. All the people of the nation must demonstrate their loyal, brave and militant spirit and be ever ready to sacrifice themselves in the cause of righteousness.

Officers, soldiers and citizens! Your repeated sacrifices and your sustained resistance have shattered the enemy's malicious designs and have laid the foundations for our final victory. Although the situation has turned in our favor, yet this is a most critical moment. Let us now make a supreme effort and press toward our goal. Let us push the enemy into the pit which he has himself dug. Let every man do his full duty and stake everything he possesses on the salvation of our nation. We know that life without honor is not life but death. A slaves' peace would bring doom upon our race. On the other hand, death in the battle for freedom is not death but life. Victory in our war of resistance will

PREPARE FOR VICTORY

freedom is not death but life. Victory in our War of Resistance will bring happiness and blessing to our posterity for ten thousand generations.

Whether it is to be renaissance or annihilation, freedom or slavery, glory or dishonor, victory or defeat—only we by our own efforts can decide. Let all our officers, soldiers and civilians, with sorrow and anger but also with fiery determination and herculean strength, throw themselves into this life-and-death struggle, drive out the alien invaders, efface all humiliations from our annals, bring about the rebirth of our national life, and prepare for the glorious day of victory and freedom.

A Common Front Against Aggression

A message to friendly Powers on July 7, 1939, the second anniversary of the war. Madame Chiang broadcast the English version for the Generalissimo through a hook-up with the N.B.C. system in the United States.

JULY 7, 1939.

TODAY China stands on the threshold of the third year of her War of Resistance against Japanese aggression. On behalf of the Chinese people, I take this occasion to convey our sentiments and hopes to the governments and peoples of all friendly Powers.

Japan's policy as formulated by her militarists is that of world conquest. To realize her inordinate ambitions, Japan must first subjugate China.

Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, the world did not fully realize the significance of Japan's policy. The developments of the last two years, however, have revealed only too clearly the sinister outlines of that policy. No one can deny that the present chaos in international affairs, which undermines the very foundations of law and order, is directly traceable to Japan's military occupation of our Northeastern Provinces in 1931.

Japan's policy of the so-called "New Order in East Asia" was publicly announced by Prince Konoye last December. Since then, events in the Far East have shown beyond doubt that the aim of the Japanese militarists is to make Japan mistress of the Pacific by dominating China on the one hand, and by eliminating European and American interests from Asia on the other. Our people have continued to make untold sacrifices of life and property in order to defend their own freedom and independence, to check the infamous designs of Japan, and to restore peace and order in this part of the world.

Since the Great War, there have been three great declarations of solemn international obligation: the Covenant of the League of

Nations, the Kellogg Peace Pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty. The object of these treaties is the specific settlement of disputes between nations, and the maintenance of world peace and order. I should like, with your permission, to call attention to the Nine-Power Treaty, which was sponsored by the United States of America, and to which both China and Japan are parties. The underlying principle of this treaty is, in the words of the preamble, "to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

The Japanese are now trying to substitute for this sound and just principle what they choose to call the "New Order in East Asia." By the establishment of this "New Order" Japan is destroying the validity of all treaties. We are glad, however, to note that the friendly Powers who are parties to these international agreements have not only consistently respected them, but have also repeatedly condemned the violation of them by Japan.

In order to further their schemes, the Japanese militarists have recently brought pressure to bear upon certain countries in the hope of forcing them to act in accordance with Japanese dictates. They plan to break up the united front of the Powers by dealing with them one at a time. Foreign nationals in China have been subjected to inhuman and disgraceful treatment at the hands of the Japanese. They have been robbed of their property, and deprived of their freedom of movement. Even their religious, cultural, and commercial establishments have been destroyed by indiscriminate bombing. All this is meant to be a challenge to the West. However, our resistance during the past two years has so exhausted the enemy that his threats will not, I believe, have any effect upon the determination of the democratic Powers to uphold international justice and treaty obligations.

I wish to remind the world that we Chinese have been a peace-loving people for over five thousand years, and I firmly believe that our 450,000,000 people still have something substantial to contribute toward human progress. True, China is weak from a military point of view, but such is our faith in the ultimate triumph of right over injustice that we are not afraid of brute force. But we do expect from the signatories of the various treaties the honor-

able discharge of their responsibilities and the fulfillment of their obligations.

In this complex world, peace is indivisible. Those countries which are eager to preserve peace must now unite in a common front against aggression. Those countries which are reluctant to face realities by adopting an attitude of indifference or a policy of appeasement will only encourage aggression. After six years of futile efforts at conciliation, China finally had to resist. We found that no amount of reasonable concession on our part could satisfy an aggressor who aims at holding one-fourth of the earth's population in bondage. I hope that the world will take warning and watch Japan carefully.

If the signatories of the League Covenant and the Nine-Power Treaty had acted firmly against the peace-breaking State, I am confident that we would not be facing the present unstable condition of world affairs. It is not too late for the friendly Powers with rights and interests in the Far East to apply economic sanctions against Japan. If this opportunity is lost, no words can adequately describe the international calamity that will take place. It will be difficult for the friendly Powers to escape the just judgment of posterity for their inaction at a time of great crisis.

We gratefully remember all the sympathy and assistance given by the governments and peoples of various countries to China. Since we have been fighting not merely for our own existence, but also in the common interests of other nations, we feel justified in appealing to the Powers to apply economic sanctions without delay. You are no doubt aware that the sale to Japan of war supplies, such as petroleum, iron and steel, makes it possible for her to continue her cold-blooded mass murder of innocent Chinese civilians and to menace foreign lives and property in China. Should effective economic sanctions be immediately applied against Japan, the time required for checking aggression on this continent would be considerably shortened.

Japan's invasion of China now enters its third year and becomes more vicious every day. It now assumes the added form of an anti-foreign movement calculated to drive all occidental rights and interests from Asia. The Powers, if only in defense of their own rights, should take more positive action. China is determined to carry on

her resistance indefinitely. She will not disappoint her many friends who have given her so generously both moral and material assistance.

The nations of the world are now so interdependent that China cannot get along without the co-operation of the West, and the West cannot get along without China. China is fulfilling her obligations in the cause of international justice. She expects that every peace-loving nation will contribute an equal share toward that end.

In a word, we must do everything possible to frustrate the Japanese plan of establishing a "New Order in East Asia," which, in its final analysis, means Japanese domination of Asia and the closing of the "Open Door" to the West. Only if Japanese aggression is checked can we look forward to a day when the nations of the Pacific will live in peace and harmony, and each do its part toward the advancement of civilization.

Pensioning the Families of the War Dead

A message to the families of men and officers killed in battle.

JULY 7, 1939.

TODAY on the second anniversary of our War of Resistance, I wish to express my deep and heartfelt sympathy to the families of those officers and soldiers who have been killed on the battlefield. During the past two years our valiant warriors have shattered the enemy's hopes of a short war and swift victory and have demonstrated to the world the unconquerable spirit of the Chinese people. They have laid the foundations for victory. The glory of these fallen heroes shines afar. They gave their lives to preserve our national heritage and the lives of our 450,000,000 compatriots. They are worthy of the famous saying of our late Leader: "I die that the nation may live." Though their bodies are destroyed, their gallant spirits have become part of our national soul which will live on in generations to come. They were brave and unafraid to die because their parents had taught them to be filial and loyal and because their wives had inspired them to stand boldly for the right. They have added luster to our nation's history and to the names of our ancestors. I now pay respect to the memory of these noble dead and offer condolence to their honored families; I call upon all our fellow-countrymen to do the same.

In my message to the families of the war dead on the first anniversary of the war, I said that the people and I would continue the unfinished task left to us by these heroes, and that we would look upon their relatives as our own and care for them. One more year has passed. The families of soldiers killed in action have greatly increased in number. The responsibility that I must assume has become heavier. Fortunately, soldiers and civilians alike have struggled valiantly against the enemy and our triumph draws nearer every day. Let us resolve to complete the struggle and bring comfort to the spirits of our departed heroes.

I am much concerned about the families of those killed in battle

and I shall do my best to make the organizations in charge of pensions do their work carefully and faithfully, so as to relieve in a measure their sufferings. However, since the war has spread over a vast territory and the officers and men who are killed come from all provinces, the omission of some names can hardly be avoided. Some families are now in the occupied areas, where owing to lack of information and difficulty of communication, pensions cannot be sent. As I think of such conditions and picture in my mind the wives and children of our fallen defenders who are suffering from hunger, my heart is inexpressibly sad.

In addition to the former pension regulations I have drawn up the following special orders:

(1) All commanding officers shall from time to time report the birthplace, home address and names of immediate relatives of all officers and men and apply immediately for pensions if they are killed. In case of insufficient information, the commanding officer shall at once request the district government to furnish the necessary information. Applications for pensions must not be sent until all data have been secured.

(2) Local governments, when ordered to pay the pension, must do so without delay as soon as the money is forwarded. If any negligence is discovered, the officer in charge will be severely punished. Families of the war dead are advised to report delays in payment to the Pension Committee of the National Military Council and ask for an immediate grant.

(3) Any family which is certain of the death of a member in military service, and to which pension has not been granted, may report to the Pension Committee, which will instruct the division concerned to investigate.

(4) Local leaders, gentry, and educators shall help those who are illiterate or ignorant of these regulations on applying for pensions. According to the regulations governing benefits for soldiers' families, local patriots shall try to support the families of those killed in the war. Such activities are supplementary to those mentioned in my January message to the gentry and educational leaders of the country. If any local government official or any *pao chia* leader embezzles pension funds, no matter how small an amount, he will be severely punished.

PENSIONING THE FAMILIES OF THE WAR DEAD

(5) Families in the occupied areas to whom the Government cannot now extend aid shall be helped by local community leaders. The relatives of those who have died in defense of the country shall be given either necessary supplies or help on their farms so that they will not suffer from cold and hunger. After the enemy has been driven out, the families of the dead will receive pensions according to the regulations, and local leaders and neighbors who have assisted them will be rewarded.

(6) All political or military inspectors at the front or in the rear shall interview the families of those killed in action and find out whether their pensions have been granted according to the regulations and whether the local government has acted according to law. They shall report the results of their investigations to me. Organizations that send officials out should make such investigations one measure of the success of their work.

These six points, though simple, are effective methods by which the pension regulations may be enforced. They are also heavy responsibilities which neither I nor our political and military officials, nor any of the people of our nation can escape. I hope that the regulations will be properly carried out so that all those who die in battle will have their parents taken care of, their wives supported, their children educated. The spirits of our brave dead will then rest in peace and our obligations will be fulfilled. The morale of our soldiers will be greatly strengthened, and children will be encouraged to follow in the footsteps of their fathers, whose heroic deeds will be remembered for all time to come.

Resistance in the Enemy's Rear

A message broadcast to the Chinese people in war zones and occupied territory on July 7, 1939, the second anniversary of the war.

JULY 7, 1939.

FELOW-COUNTRYMEN in the war areas and occupied areas:

Today is the second anniversary of our War of Resistance, and the first day in the third year of war. How to continue this difficult, glorious struggle, how to strengthen our resistance, recover our lost territory, drive out the invaders and how to construct a new China of, by, and for the people—these problems face us all, but the burden rests most heavily upon our compatriots in “occupied” territory.

Fellow-countrymen, who suffer such terrible oppression and cruelty and who live constantly in the dark valley of the shadow of death, do not think that I forget you even for a moment. Daily and hourly I consider how we may free you from your sorrow and suffering. But you must also help yourselves. You too must rise and struggle with us for your freedom.

Fellow-countrymen in the war areas! The stories of your perseverance and courage in resisting the enemy have been reported to me and have given me unbounded hope for our nation. Your loyalty and bravery are the guarantee of our victory. No matter what cruelties and torments you suffer, resolve that you will die rather than surrender. You have preserved the great heritage of the Chinese nation and have manifested the noble virtues of the Chinese race. Your struggles have reinforced China's all-front resistance. Guerrilla bases are daily increasing in numbers and strength and the plan to turn the enemy's rear into our front is being fully realized. During the past year, the disposition and activities of our troops behind the enemy's lines have been closely co-ordinated with our all-front resistance. In many places throughout the extensive war areas we have already succeeded in encircling the enemy and can launch attacks on all sides at once. When he fights on one front we attack on another. Hence, he has not only failed to advance but has suffered heavy casualties. Our country-

men in the occupied areas have brought about this situation. If resistance in the enemy's rear is kept up and further intensified he will receive a mortal blow. All occupied areas, large and small, will become so many bombs which will explode inside the enemy's lines and cause his destruction.

As a result of the past two years of war, the enemy has become weaker and weaker while we have become stronger and stronger. In military matters, in transport and communication, in political and financial affairs, the enemy is floundering in a sea of difficulties from which he is making a last desperate effort to escape. He hopes to extract himself by political and cultural intrigue, and also by the exploitation through military and economic means of Chinese resources and manpower in the occupied areas. These malicious designs are the final resource of the enemy in the hour of his approaching downfall, and their frustration means victory for us.

Let me speak first of the enemy's political intrigues. I exposed these in detail at the end of last year when I assailed Konoye's so-called "New Order in East Asia." However, there are some shameless traitors who are willing to sell their own country and to become tools of the enemy. Although condemned by the people of the whole nation, yet they have not stopped their treasonable activities. At the same time, the enemy is attempting to carry out his new policy of "winning over the Chinese" and is intensifying his lying propaganda. We must endeavor to lay bare all these poisonous schemes.

Frankly speaking, by his proclamation of the so-called "New Order in East Asia" the enemy has clearly shown the utter impossibility of any real peace negotiations. We know that the so-called "New Order" means nothing but the destruction of the whole Chinese nation and the enslavement of all the Chinese people. There is absolutely no other way to secure true peace but to fight on to victory. If we were all as much afraid of hardship and death as the traitors are, and were willing to surrender even halfway, submitting to what they call "peace," we would only be shamefully "opening the door and inviting in the pirates." "Peace" with such a meaning cannot be found in the dictionary. The "peace" of the traitors means slavery and death. I cannot but call it "traitors' peace."

We Chinese, descendants of Hwang Ti, possessing moral integrity and a courageous spirit, must in this time of lying propaganda by the enemy and traitors, strengthen our determination, maintain our personal character, and display our fighting spirit.

The enemy maliciously plans to strengthen his position in the occupied areas by exploiting Chinese resources and manpower. He wants to use our people simply as cannon fodder. Recently, he has been employing the larger portion of his forces in so-called "mopping-up campaigns." In economics, he has changed his former policy of blockade, destruction and plunder to one of "development" and "rehabilitation." In order to frustrate these venomous designs we must emphasize "counter mopping-up" campaigns, and also counter development and counter rehabilitation so that the enemy's attempt to save himself by sucking our blood may fail.

I wish to stress the following points as guiding principles for the struggles of our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas.

First, we must carry out counter mopping-up operations, incessantly checking, encircling, attacking and exhausting the enemy, disrupting his communications and destroying his reconstruction projects. We will so wear him out that the occupied areas will daily be reduced in size, and our guerrilla bases will constantly increase in numbers and strength. We must employ guerrilla warfare on a large scale in order to engage the largest possible number of enemy troops.

Secondly, we must destroy all reconstruction and development projects of the enemy and persuade the masses not to pay taxes or supply labor to him, not to use his military or bogus notes, not to buy his goods, and not to give him foodstuffs. At the same time, our people must be frugal and industrious and spend their energies in production. They must conserve their strength for a prolonged war, work hand in hand with the political departments of our armies, make constant surprise raids on enemy property and prevent him from obtaining even the slightest benefit from our natural resources.

Thirdly, we must carry out the mobilization of our moral and spiritual forces and eradicate all traitors. On the one hand, we must enforce the Citizen's Pact, and increase the national consciousness of the people and their understanding of the war; on the other

hand, we must put an end to all treasonable activities. Let us be proud that we are citizens of the Republic of China and descendants of Hwang Ti! Let us be faithful followers of our late Leader, Sun Yat-sen! Let us not misinterpret in any way his principles and teachings. Anyone today who distorts these teachings, spreading false principles of surrender and submission, should be regarded as a traitor, and be severely punished.

Fourthly, we must hasten the dissolution of the enemy forces, and spread defection among the puppet troops. We must resist the "Pacification Policy" of the enemy and of the puppets. Our people in the war zones should try by all possible means to make the enemy soldiers who have been deceived by their militarists and forced to come to China, understand that aggression is the way to self-destruction and death while opposition to war is the way to salvation and life. As for the puppet soldiers, we should urge them more strongly to show their courage, turn their guns on the enemy and come over to our side to defend our common fatherland. Our people in the war areas should admonish and inspire, encourage and love one another, and unite to break up the enemy's intrigues. Anything advantageous to the enemy is harmful to us; therefore we should refuse to do what he wants us to do, and do what he opposes us in doing. What he says is good will be bad, and what he says is bad will be good; therefore every word and action of his must be refuted and checked.

Fellow-countrymen in the war areas! Our two years' War of Resistance has laid a solid foundation for our final victory. If the whole nation, at the front and in the rear, is bound closely together, then the longer we fight, the stronger and braver we will become. The day of liberty, equality, and independence for the Chinese nation will without doubt soon dawn, and you will certainly be liberated from your iron yoke. For the present, we must endure pain, we must sacrifice and struggle to the end. The little suffering that we now bear will mean the happiness of future generations and will be rewarded tenfold. The sacrifice of our individual life will preserve the eternal life of the whole nation. Let us all redouble our efforts to save ourselves and the nation, fulfill our responsibilities as a great people and gain for ourselves and our descendants a glorious and final victory.

To the People of Japan

*A message to the people of Japan, on July 7, 1939,
on the second anniversary of the Sino-Japanese
War. The message was translated into Japanese
and sent into Japan and Japan-controlled terri-
torie.*

JULY 7, 1939.

A YEAR ago today I addressed a message to you, the people of Japan. In that address the most important points I made were: first, that China's resistance was not only in self-defense to preserve her national existence but was also aimed at bringing about such conditions as would ensure the future welfare of the Chinese and Japanese peoples; and second, that your ruthless militarists were the enemy not merely of China but of the people of Japan as well. Now that another year of the aggression of your militarists in China has come to an end, I wish to make it clear to you, on behalf of China's armed forces and civilians, that our attitude toward the Japanese people remains unchanged. We are more than ever convinced that Japanese militarists are really the common enemy of the two nations. For this reason I feel I ought to take advantage of the second anniversary of the beginning of our War of Resistance to make known to you quite frankly and as clearly as possible a few other points that may help to awaken you.

During the past two years of your militarists' war of aggression in China, and especially during the last twelve months, I have been fully aware of the great distress of spirit of your people. Why? Because, though at first your militarists announced that they could defeat China within a few months, actually the "few months" have lengthened first to one year and now to two years. Meanwhile, your burden has become heavier and your livelihood more difficult every day. More and more of you have been conscripted, while the number of your wounded and dead sent back to Japan has been mounting very fast. Furthermore, economic control in Japan has been again and again tightened, and at the same time Japan's relations with other Powers have become more complicated and strained. So you cannot help but brood over the ultimate outcome of this war. I am sure that all of you who are normally intelligent

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have given thought to this question but have not been able to find any satisfactory answer.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese armed forces and concurrently the Director-General of the Kuomintang, I am in a position to solve this great question for you. In what follows I shall try to give you a clear and detailed explanation under several heads, hoping thereby to achieve two objectives: first, to arouse you to a realization of the deception practiced upon you; and second, to point out to you the true and natural way. My first effort will be directed toward exposing the lying propaganda with which your militarists have deceived you.

Since the war broke out, the propaganda of your militarists has in general been as follows: in the first place, they have tried hard to make you believe that Japan was forced to invade China because of the latter's anti-Japanese policy. In some instances they have even said that Japan acted not in a spirit of aggression but in self-defense. Such statements are, however, so childish and absurd that they scarcely deserve refutation. I shall therefore reply to them very briefly. Ask yourselves, if there is any country in the world which makes enmity toward another its national policy? The idea is ridiculous. From time immemorial China's national policy has been one of peace, which is the fundamental conception of the Chinese people. "Nationalism" as preached by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his Three Principles of the People has as its objective the preservation of China's freedom and equality but without encroaching in any way upon the freedom and equality of other nations. This fundamentally is our viewpoint in national as well as international affairs. We respect the freedom and equality of all nations in the world. Why should we single out Japan, our closest neighbor, for antagonism? It simply does not make sense.

Now, suppose another country should invade Japan by force, would you resist or not? You reply, "We would resist, of course." In that case the issue is clear. Two years ago today your militarists, after having unlawfully seized our Four Northeastern Provinces, started an attack on the Marco Polo Bridge and subsequently took Peiping and Tientsin from us. Now our people are just as spirited as you are. For China is, on the one hand, a great country possessed of a rich culture and a long history, and, on the other

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hand, a new nation engaged at the moment in a struggle to complete her revolution and reconstruction in accordance with the Three Principles of the People. How could our Government and people sit back and watch your militarists prey on China without resisting? If you think the situation over calmly, you will have to admit that you are fighting a war of aggression and we one of self-defense. Let me repeat: it is China's national policy to love peace and resist aggression. Those who do not invade China are her friends, but those who do are naturally her enemies. The point is really so clear as to require no emphasis. It is ludicrous to claim that Japan is fighting in self-defense. Only when a nation's independence and existence are threatened by invasion can we speak of self-defense. How can Japan claim that she is acting in self-defense when China has never invaded her, could never invade her, and would never think of invading her? On the other hand, Japan is actually invading China on a very large scale. If Japan can call this "self-defense," then the conquest of Asia, and the conquest of the world as advocated by Baron Tanaka in his notorious memorial to the Japanese Emperor are all nothing but "self-defense"!

In the second place, your rulers have been telling you unceasingly that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China and that she harbors no enmity toward the Chinese people, adding that Japan is willing to co-operate with China without compromising China's independence. If all this is true, then we may ask your government why it should have mobilized over one million troops and budgeted nearly Yen 10,000,000,000 a year for carrying on this large-scale aggression. Merely to ask this question reveals the true state of affairs. If Japan has actually no territorial ambitions in China, if she bears no antagonism to the Chinese people, if she has no intention of violating China's independence, but is willing to co-operate with China—the very thing that China has been striving for—would not China stretch out her hands to welcome it? Let me tell you the truth and hope that you will remember it. Your rulers during the last few years have told you nothing but lies. All that they have told you has been the very opposite of the truth. Exactly like Yoshinori Adagami's theory of the identity of opposites, your militarists say they have no inordinate ambitions, when in reality they have; they say they are not hostile to the Chinese people, when actually

they are; they say they are willing to co-operate with China, when the truth is just the opposite; and they say they do not want to violate China's independence, when their real intention is to destroy it. Instances like these are numerous, but so long as you take whatever your militarists tell you about China in the opposite sense, then you will never be deceived by them.

People of Japan, what I have just said is based entirely on facts and is not biased by prejudice. All the talk of your rulers about not impairing China's independence may be true in their sense, but what they really want is to turn the Republic of China into an "independent" nation like their puppet kingdom of "Manchukuo." With regard to the actual conditions in that puppet state, you surely know as much as we do. Are the so-called emperor of the puppet state and his government possessed of such powers as should naturally belong to the Chief Executive or the government of a really independent country? Do the people in our Four Northeastern Provinces enjoy such political and economic liberties as are the inalienable rights of citizens of a truly sovereign nation? In human relations one of the guiding principles is always to tell the truth, yet your militarists, after enslaving large numbers of the Chinese people, say they have "given them freedom"; and, after having seized parts of our territory, say they have "set up an independent state."

For two years, your militarists have been trying to repeat the same tactics and use the same philosophy they employed so successfully in Manchuria and extend them to the whole of China in order to enslave the entire population and end China's existence as an independent nation. Is not this proof enough of your militarists' wild ambitions in China, of their hostility toward the Chinese people and of their absolute refusal to co-operate with us?

In the third place, your militarists have another type of ready-made propaganda which accuses China of going "Red" and justifies their aggression in China as an anti-communist measure. This canard has been used so many years that it has become too ridiculous to notice. However, in order that you may know the facts, I shall say just a few words by way of refutation. Even if China were a communist country, that would still not give Japan any legitimate reason for extending her anti-communist policy to China, though

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it might conceivably constitute a cause for her doing so. A nation has the absolute right to determine its own form of government. That is what is meant by sovereignty. No nation, therefore, can tolerate the interference of others in its own domestic affairs. For example, China has never thought of meddling with Japan's internal economy. You Japanese are free to adopt whatever political system you see fit. We have not the least desire to interfere in such matters. In fact, we are not at all interested in them. If Japan wants to fight communism, she may do whatever she pleases inside her own territory; but under no circumstances has she the right to interfere in China's internal affairs. Any such interference constitutes contempt for national sovereignty.

What is more, China is not a communist country. Since the Chinese Communist Party's declaration the year before last, when it pledged its support to the Three Principles of the People, the thoughts and actions of the entire Chinese nation have been unified. Today the Three Principles of the People are the supreme ideals underlying China's laws: all activities not in contravention thereof are legal, and all law-abiding citizens are protected by the law. In present-day China all political parties follow the leadership of the Kuomintang, obey the law, and loyally do their part in China's War of Resistance. These are the facts. Therefore all the propaganda of your militarists about "opposing communism" is absolutely groundless and reveals nothing but their own willful distortion of the facts and complete disregard of China's sovereign rights. Your militarists, "anti-communism" is nothing but a smoke-screen. In order to invade China they found it necessary to invent some pretext with which to stir up the Japanese people and behind which to hide their own evil schemes. "Anti-communism" is the term they have selected but, if we examine the content of the slogan, it needs no refutation.

You must have known that in the past, because of its adherence to the Three Principles of the People and in order to preserve the political and social unity of the nation our Government undertook a campaign against the communists which lasted for ten years. When that campaign was at its most critical juncture, your militarists, taking advantage of our preoccupation, seized our Four North-eastern Provinces and proceeded to threaten Hopei and Chahar. Then just as soon as our civil war had terminated, your militarists,

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chagrined by the completion of China's internal unification, started this large-scale war of aggression which has raged now for two years. In short, your militarists are really "anti-China" and not "anti-Comintern." If you look into the real motives of your militarists, you will find the one thing they are afraid of is a China at peace with herself. The question of communism is utterly beside the point. The more chaotic conditions in China are, the easier it will be for your militarists to realize their ambition to destroy China. What displeases them most is China's unity and solidarity, which is the very opposite of what they had hoped for.

Then your militarists have also asserted that Japan's real objective is to destroy the "anti-Japanese" Chinese Government and that she is willing to co-operate with a pro-Japanese regime. This is an insult to China and is merely an attempt to deceive you. I can tell you plainly that in China there is only one National Government and that it has the active support of the entire nation and exercises the supreme governing authority in the country. The attempts of your militarists to overthrow it are really aimed at the destruction of China as a whole. This is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. Our Government is in duty bound to safeguard the nation's sovereignty and carry out its administrative program, but fundamentally is neither "anti-Japanese" nor "pro-Japanese." When you invade China, we naturally resist and look upon Japan as our enemy. On the other hand, if you abandon your aggression and are willing to make cordial relationships your objective, we shall be equally willing to consider Japan as a friend.

As to the establishment in China of a pro-Japanese regime: can we allow the army of an enemy nation to create a government for the Republic of China? It is true your militarists have gathered together a very limited number of traitors in the occupied areas and set up puppet regimes. But these regimes are entirely subordinate to your invading army and are in no sense of the word part of the Chinese Government. No matter how hard your militarists may try to whitewash these regimes and to conceal the truth, the entire Chinese nation considers these organizations as parts of the Japanese army and regards all members of puppet governments as traitors. You can only deceive your own people, you cannot deceive us.

Finally, I know full well that I am the special target of your

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militarists. That is only natural. Since they are bent on conquering China, they naturally concentrate their antagonism on China's Generalissimo. Not much need be said on this point. However, I would advise you not to make the mistake of thinking that by overthrowing me you can defeat China. That idea is completely false. I still remember how a few years ago your militarists circulated a pamphlet in which it was stated that "Chiang Kai-shek is the greatest obstacle in the way of Japan's Continental Policy." True, I have resisted the invaders of China with my whole strength and for this reason am regarded by your militarists as an obstacle. However, you must realize that China is capable of achieving unity and of producing leaders. She is determined to resist. Today the responsibility of the supreme command falls on my shoulders; but, if tomorrow another man replaces me or even if the supreme command is changed one hundred times, China will still fight on to the end. You must realize that China's great future is ensured by the courage and loyalty of countless numbers of soldiers and civilians, and is not dependent on the efforts merely of a few in leading positions. I am thoroughly optimistic about China's future because, through the experience and training of two years of war, the spirit and determination of every one of our officers and men at the front, and of those engaged in wartime activities behind the lines, have reached great heights. I can only say that today I symbolize the spirit and determination of China's entire people, both armed forces and civilians, in carrying on the great task of resistance and reconstruction. I am confident that the countless capable comrades who will succeed us will have an even higher sense of responsibility and will be better qualified to fulfill their duties. For this reason it is most necessary that the Japanese people should recognize the greatness of the Chinese race, and not misunderstand the nature of the question at issue.

I have now revealed to you the true nature of the deceptive propaganda of your militarists. The falsity of this propaganda has been known to not a few of you but you have been easily persuaded on one thing, that Japan could conquer China and could destroy China's independence. You Japanese in general are not unaware of the fact that aggression is evil, but you fancy that in any case it is to Japan's advantage to dominate China and occupy

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the continent of Asia. After these two years of war many of you must have already awakened somewhat from your wild dreams of conquest, but unfortunately you are not yet thoroughly awake. Therefore I feel it necessary to clarify two points. First, your militarists' war of aggression is bound to fail, whereas our war of self-defense will end in victory. Secondly, China's success will not be the defeat of the Japanese people but of Japanese militarists; and only the defeat of these militarists will make possible the true success of the Japanese people.

Your country, misled by your militarists' ill-founded ideas, has throughout the years committed a serious crime against all other nations in East Asia. That is the fundamental reason why your war of aggression in China must end in defeat. You Japanese people have only just begun to experience its evil effects, and no one at present can predict how far this process of retribution will go.

The greatest mistake for your military leaders lies in their contempt for Japan's neighbors in East Asia. Since the Meiji Restoration, you have been so elated by your national progress that you have forgotten all about your history for the past several thousand years. You feel so conceited about your own country that you look down upon your less progressive neighbors. This idea, fostered and popularized by your militarists, has taken complete possession of you Japanese and created in your minds the illusion of the omnipotence of force and aggression. This has proved to be your greatest misfortune. Unlike the Chinese, you Japanese, misled by your militarists, concern yourselves only with relative strength and weakness to the complete disregard of right and wrong. Your estimate of foreign countries is determined by the size of their armaments. To the most powerful you are very respectful. To those less powerful, you are less respectful. To the weaker ones your only thought is how to encroach upon them. As to those without any armaments to speak of, you think of swallowing them up.

Your militarists now in power view world affairs entirely in terms of force. They are occupied all day with calculating how many guns, airplanes, and warships other countries have, and the capacity of their armament industries and the extent of their natural resources. They measure the worth of every nation by the yardstick of military power. In the opinion of your militarists, all mili-

tarily weak nations should surrender to those who are powerful, while the nations that are unarmed do not even reckon as human beings, and should therefore be enslaved. This is the basic philosophy of your military leaders. But since the very size of the world makes it impossible for Japanese military might to reach the small and weak that are far away from Japan, your ruling class have decided to satisfy their lust for conquest at the expense of their weak neighbors: so the tragedy of East Asia has begun.

On this point our conceptions are entirely different. In our eyes all nations are equal and should remain free. For instance, there may be a world of difference between the Japanese and the Koreans in their power and wealth, but to us Chinese they are both our neighbors and our equals. We are not afraid of Japan just because she is a so-called first-class Power; and similarly we do not despise the Koreans just because they are a vanquished nation. On the contrary, we have an intense hatred against all invaders who believe in the omnipotence of military force, and a deep sympathy for all oppressed nations. Japan only cares who is strong and who is weak, whereas China concerns herself with the question of right and wrong. This point is of the greatest importance.

Let me now deal with the crimes of your militarists. Though Japan had signed a treaty with China, promising to respect Korea's independence, she tore the treaty to pieces and annexed Korea. During these last three decades, we have had neither the strength nor the time to interfere, but we have been watching carefully all the time. Your country has been and still is contemptuous of the Koreans. Besides denying them all political freedom, you have been steadily depriving the Koreans of whatever agriculture and commerce they may have retained. The process was sometimes quick like a whale gulping down large mouthfuls and sometimes gradual like the nibbling of a silkworm, but the purpose was the same: to reduce rich Koreans to a state of poverty and to turn the poor into homeless wanderers.

Many years ago large numbers of Koreans fled into Manchuria to try to make a living. They were all men who had had their lands taken away from them in their homeland and had been driven to lead a wandering existence. Then an untold number of unemployed Koreans was compelled to become drug peddlers or smugglers in

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Peiping, Tientsin, and other places. There was nothing they would not do. While loathing their hideous activities, we cannot but pity them in their evil plight. As to the educational policy which aims at enslaving the Koreans and as to various measures of highhanded oppression carried out in Korea, it is needless for me to go into details. To sum it all up, the Koreans have been leading a life of slaves. And so have the Formosans.

Your militarists, after having enslaved Korea and Formosa, proceeded to try to enslave the whole Chinese nation. Their first step was the occupation of our Four Northeastern Provinces. Those of you with normal intelligence would do well to think calmly and quietly over this question: For the last eight years what kind of life have the Chinese in the Four Northeastern Provinces been leading? Politically your Kwantung Army exercises such despotic authority over the life and death of our people there that they can do nothing but obey. In the economic field, all large Chinese business enterprises have been taken over by the Japanese, and the lands of many Chinese farmers have been confiscated. Our people have been so completely deprived of all rights of trade, production, domicile, and travel, such as are guaranteed by the laws of any land, that it is idle even to speak of their rights to government and education.

Then during the last eight years no one knows how many innocent Chinese have been put to death in Manchuria. Most atrocious of all are the cases where Chinese have been killed, without the slightest reason, just to satisfy the caprices of the Japanese militarists who charged them with harboring so-called "dangerous thoughts." The truth, however, is that these victims were done to death simply because they did not find favor in the eyes of the militarists. More outrageous is the case of education. Your ancestors during the past two thousand years read Chinese history and were greatly benefited by the teachings and experiences of our forefathers. Your militarists now want our people in the Northeast to forget Chinese history. What an ungrateful way of repaying what you have learned from us! Your militarists look upon our people in the Northeast not as human beings who have an equal right to live, but as slaves who should be done away with. Now they are making our people work as coolies, but in the future they will reduce them to complete poverty and ignorance, and will try

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by ruthless oppression to drive them ultimately to the point of self-destruction.

The crimes of your militarists in enslaving the peoples of East Asia if enumerated in full would fill many volumes. However, it is unnecessary for me to go into details, for I am convinced that those of you who are informed at all must be far better acquainted with these crimes than I am myself. I wish only to lay stress on one point, and that is the effect which your evil policy of conquest has had upon other peoples and upon Japan herself.

First, its effect on other peoples. The results of this policy are really terrible, because it aims not merely at the conquest of a nation but at the extinction of its people. In other words, even if a nation were willing to accept the lot of a conquered people it could not continue to exist. The factor absolutely essential to the existence of a nation is economic freedom, the very thing which the policy of your militarists seeks to destroy. Take our people in the North-eastern Provinces for example: if the present pressure continues for a number of years, they will be reduced to coolies and slaves. When all industrial and business enterprises have been monopolized by the invaders, the only means of livelihood is farming. But the farmers are gradually losing their land through either Japanese encroachment or outright confiscation. Besides, the farmers are not free to sell their own products except to Japanese agencies at ruinously low prices, whereas they have to pay exorbitantly for all kinds of daily necessities. With such a detailed system of extortion in operation, it will not be many years before the Chinese farmers there will have entirely lost their lands and have become serfs.

What causes us the most acute pain is the fact that under this Japanese policy the peoples of East Asia are every day sinking deeper into poverty and ignorance, until one day they will cease to exist. By ignorance I do not mean the simple, harmless kind but that which is characterized by unblushing stupidity. The reason for this is that both in education and in public administration your militarists foster this shameless stupidity. Their object is to make the masses in the conquered nations ignorant of everything except fear of Japan. The more shameless, the more wicked, and the more demoralized the masses become, the better. Your militarists wish to reduce the vanquished peoples to the point where parents and children

will no longer pull together, where friends will no longer help each other, and where the people will be disunited as separate grains of sand and compelled to beg on their knees for mercy. Your militarists want to banish from the hearts of the people of East Asia all those moral concepts that come from our Oriental civilization and to turn them into communities of slaves. Nor do your militarists stop there. They have introduced a policy of ruining the people by opium, gambling, and debauchery. They are jealous of the fact that many of our people, though conquered, are still possessed of money and property, and they are afraid that these folk, as a result of their physical and mental suffering, will be led to think of rebellion. Hence the first thing that your militarists do in whatever territory they occupy is to encourage and even force the inhabitants to take morphine, heroin, and opium. At the same time they encourage them to frequent brothels and gambling houses, that the conquered masses may the quicker be reduced to poverty and death. By this policy of poison and debauchery they hope to paralyze and weaken the minds of our people so that the latter will forget all about their own country and nation—will forget everything—and be too weak and too spiritless to do anything to save themselves.

This policy of your militarists may seem clever, but in reality it is most stupid. If you look at the effect which this evil policy has had upon your own country, you will see that Japan herself will be the greatest sufferer in the future. Japan has forgotten what is fundamental, and one who forgets fundamentals is on the road to ruin. Japan, like China and other countries in East Asia, was backward from the standpoint of the modern scientific civilization of the West. In Japan, however, renaissance came half a century earlier than in other countries. This has made your militarists proud and arrogant in the belief that the Japanese are the only first-class race in the Orient and that all others are an inferior breed. Actually Japan is like a small jug easily filled, having none of the characteristics of a great nation.

The Chinese Revolution and the Meiji Restoration are two great events in the history of the people in East Asia. But your militarists boast only of their own achievement and then try to blot out China. They came to think that China could be annexed just like Korea, the only difference being that China is larger. They believed that they

could conquer China step by step just as the silkworm nibbles at the mulberry leaf. The first step was to seize the Four Northeastern Provinces; the second to invade Hopei, Chahar and other provinces. They seemed to think that, in view of Japan's military strength, they could accomplish their purpose without fighting, and that, even if China did resist, they could easily overcome her powers of resistance. True, Japanese military experts have worked out the number of guns and airplanes in the two countries in minute detail. Their view that China can never defeat Japan is based on scientific reasons. But although they excel in all sorts of calculations, they have failed to take into consideration the psychological factors involved. Your militarists have only studied the history of the fifty years of the Meiji Restoration. At best they have perhaps also studied Western books on natural sciences and the history of the wars of the last few hundred years, but they have pushed aside as unworthy of attention China's five thousand years of history, which their own ancestors studied thoroughly. They have completely ignored both the strength of Chinese culture and the progress of China's revolution during the last few decades.

Your militarists, on the basis of some rudimentary knowledge of military affairs, have come to believe that force is almighty, and that anything can be accomplished in this way, without realizing that the real force that controls world affairs is that of morals and culture and not that of big guns and airplanes. Throughout the centuries China has always despised brute force and regarded morality, benevolence and righteousness as the basic principles of the nation's life. We have an ancient adage which says in effect: "While you employ force, I rely on benevolence; while you seek material gains, I prefer righteousness; and while you resort to deceptions, I maintain good faith." It is my firm conviction that benevolence is of infinitely more value than force, righteousness than gain, sincerity than treachery. A popular Chinese proverb says: "Fight with intelligence and not force." Our highest moral code aims at the realization of wisdom, benevolence and courage, with benevolence as the center around which revolve the other two. We have a courageous spirit that is not afraid of brutal strength. It is the courage that is fearless in doing what is noble and right. The wisdom we treasure is the wisdom that leads to noble conduct. It must not be confused with petty cleverness,

narrow-mindedness, and methods of self-seeking; it is based on true nobility and a realization of the true meaning of righteousness.

In China's moral code, the line of demarcation between right and wrong is clearly drawn and is not blurred by the pettiness of self-interest. Homage is paid to virtue but force is held in contempt. We have a healthy self-respect, but injure no one. On the contrary we are willing to make all kinds of sacrifices that true nobility and righteousness may be realized. In fact this has been the essence of Oriental culture for several thousand years. Alas! that your militarists should have thrown away their precious heritage. Speaking quite objectively, this is a great misfortune for Japan. I would like to point out to you one fact, and that is that your militarists have never shown the slightest respect for, or goodwill toward, other nations in East Asia. Any country that could be annexed, they have annexed; where invasion was possible they have invaded. During these past years, of course, there have been times when they have slowed down their pace; just as there have been times when their designs have made rapid progress. Any slackening of aggression on their part has always been due to military considerations: out of courtesy perhaps to the European and American countries, certainly not out of any love for China. Think for instance what happened forty years ago. Owing to the intervention of three Powers you returned to us the Liaotung Peninsula; but if there had been no intervention, would you ever have returned it of your own accord? Actually at that time your militarists were planning to occupy Peking. China toward the end of the Manchu Dynasty certainly was ill-organized and weak; it relied on "the balance of power." Japan's wings at that time were not fully grown, and so she was afraid to stand out alone against the other Powers. That is why after the Russo-Japanese War, she returned South Manchuria to China. But when the World War broke out, your militarists immediately presented the Twenty-one Demands. It is obvious, therefore, that the speed of your militarists' encroachments has been determined entirely by the world situation. In other words, your militarists are constantly comparing Japan's power with that which other countries can exert in East Asia. At the Washington Conference, your militarists figured that Japan was no match for Great Britain and the United States, and made concessions accordingly. But in September, 1931, they decided to act because they

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were confident of the growing power of Japan's navy, and of the inability of Great Britain and the United States to co-operate.

The policy of your militarists in seeking the conquest of China is always the same, only the speed of your encroachment varies; and that is determined by your estimate of your own strength and the attitude of the European and American nations. Your militarists have never included in their calculations the rights, interests, and characteristics of this great nation of China. Nothing could be more stupid than this. During these last few years, since your militarists started to threaten the provinces of Hopei and Chahar, the Chinese people have been forced to give up their hope of peace and friendship with Japan. The whole nation, soldiers and civilians, have seen Japan in her true light and China's own position in true perspective. We have realized that unless the entire nation was united and was willing to struggle to the last, it would mean the end of China and the Chinese people. We could not allow ourselves to become the slaves of the aggressors; nor could we bear to see the honor and glory bequeathed to us by our ancestors vanish while in our keeping; and our children's children reduced to destitution, ignorance, and dishonorable servitude. On the other hand, we are absolutely convinced that so long as we stand together and put our best effort into the struggle, we shall be able to frustrate the wild ambitions of your military leaders. Ultimately this will enable the Japanese people to return to the right path along which alone is a bright future to be found. The Chinese of this generation have vowed in a courageous spirit and with a deep sense of responsibility to set the people of East Asia free from this great scourge. We are fully aware of the fact that only the Chinese people are able to undertake this task. It is our determination to save China, to save East Asia, and to save Japan.

Your country is situated in East Asia and yet you look down upon peoples of East Asia as slaves. In so doing you are undermining the very ground on which you stand. How can this lead to any good result? As we Chinese people are absolutely determined not to surrender nor to see our nation conquered, every month or year we spend in fighting will bring us that much nearer to our goal. China during these two years of war has not only become stronger in spirit and more genuinely united but has also made great progress

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in military effectiveness. Your militarists' hope of crushing the Chinese army in order to fulfill their ambition of conquering China will never be realized. On the contrary, we are confident of our ability to put an end to these dreams and to establish real peace among the nations in East Asia. Remember that evil actions bring their retribution. All your present sufferings are the result of the evil policy of your militarists, but they have only just begun. What your sufferings will be in the future one cannot bear to think.

Actually what your military leaders desire is to deprive the people of East Asia of their freedom. In the same way you Japanese have already lost yours. Taking advantage of others in this world does not pay. Your seizure of Manchuria gave you certain advantages, but it soon resulted in the deterioration of discipline in your army and the establishment of a military dictatorship. Today your country is being ruled by a group of arrogant and ignorant young officers. The affairs of State are really controlled by the Ministry of War, which in turn is dominated by this group of young officers. They are as ambitious as they are stupid. Their views, however, are conflicting, and they are split up into cliques and factions. But those who have clamored the loudest for aggression have gained the greatest influence. Your Government's actions in actual practice are directed by this small group of reckless militarists. Possessed of great power the latter have stopped at nothing. Japan's body politic has ceased to exist and the cabinet has become nothing but a plaything in their hands obliged to do exactly what they wish. After the Lukouchiao incident two years ago, when the war had just begun, your newspapers, carried away by enthusiasm, admitted that the Japanese move was a premeditated one.

War is not a small matter. Yet the masses of your people have passively accepted the direction of this small group of militarists. You have been asked to contribute not only your money and property but also your lives. In addition, you are obliged all the time to sing the praises of the army. You can only praise; you are not allowed to oppose any move. If you show the slightest sign of doubt or suspicion, you are imprisoned and subjected to examination. During the last two years thousands of your intellectuals have been arrested by gendarmes and police and thrown into prison. Is not their fate just the same as that of so-called "ideological offenders" in the Four

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Northeastern Provinces? This is scarcely to be wondered at when the true conditions are exposed. Look at your elder statesmen and veteran counselors of State who contributed so much toward Japan's rise to its present position. They were mellow and experienced, always thinking in terms of Japan's welfare. However, because of their prudence in policy, they were regarded by your militarists as obstacles and were shot down as if they were so many dogs or pigs, and no one paid any attention while the instigators of the crime got away. Since such has been the fate of great statesmen, your ordinary people are all the more at the mercy of your militarists and your lot is no better than that of slaves.

The outstanding characteristic of your militarists is their absolute refusal to admit that they are in the wrong. Though the fault is their own, they vent their hatred on others; and not only so, but they go further and seek the annihilation of others. In the last few years, they have steadily denied that they were in the wrong in invading China; instead they have blamed us and hated us because of our resistance. Having fought for two years without reaching their goal, they have become exasperated at their own failure, and then, exasperation changing to anger, they have turned to vent their rage upon the European nations and America. Their anti-foreign resentment is not of course limited to Britain. They have, however, chosen to attack Great Britain first because the latter is preoccupied with problems in Europe; while they have deliberately withheld their attack on America for the time being because of her present naval power in the Pacific. America is to be the second step in their plan of dealing with the Powers one by one. They pride themselves on the cleverness of this trick of striking at the Powers one at a time, not knowing that it has already been seen through by the world, and that the Powers concerned have common interests and a common position on this matter.

You people of Japan must realize that the international policy of your militarists may be summed up as one of violating treaties and breaking promises. In their relations with China, other countries abide by the Nine-Power Treaty, whereas Japan's invasion of China constitutes a definite breach of that Pact. It is only natural for the great Powers, Great Britain, France, and America, to dissociate themselves from Japan's action and to maintain their stand on the basis

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of that treaty. Soviet Russia was not a signatory of the Nine-Power Treaty, but because of her obligations under the League of Nations Covenant her attitude is completely in line with that of Britain, America, and France. Their respect for China's sovereignty and refusal to be accessory to Japan's aggression are only natural in the comity of nations. Your militarists, however, have come to hate these nations and seek to destroy their legitimate treaty interests in China. This of course constitutes a grave challenge to the whole world, the seriousness of which is obvious.

Of late your rulers have been preaching the "New Order in East Asia." You should know that what lies behind this so-called new order is the conquest of China and the expulsion of all other nations from East Asia. Just as their invasion of China necessitated fighting, so any attempt to expel other countries from this part of the world can only be accomplished by armed force. You would do well to calculate the extent of Japan's manpower and the strength of your armed forces. There is a Chinese saying about "a blind man on a blind horse approaching at midnight the deep waters' brink." You have blindly allowed that blind horse, the Ministry of War, to rush on, carrying the whole Japanese nation toward an unfathomable abyss. This is a true picture of Japan since September 18, 1931. And in the final analysis, all the sufferings you are now undergoing or will undergo in the future are the result of your militarists' insolent contempt for other nations in East Asia. If you should fail now to come to your senses, there will come a day when it will be too late to save yourselves.

I have given you the reasons why Japan's aggression is bound to fail. But these reasons alone are not sufficient to prove that China's resistance must end in victory and China's program of reconstruction must be crowned with success. For if within China herself there already exist certain factors that tend toward failure, the outcome must remain uncertain. For this reason I desire all the more to point out to the people of Japan precisely why it is that we have grown stronger as the war has progressed, and why we are so confident of the successful conclusion of our War of Resistance and our program of national reconstruction. While every sign of failure on the part of your militarists has correspondingly increased our strength, there are also within China herself positive factors making for her success.

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First and foremost, the Chinese nation has a united and steadfast faith in the Three Principles of the People. Of this point I think it will be well to give a brief explanation. China's greatest difficulty of recent years has been her inability to achieve national unity, arouse herself from slumber, and solve her own problems. But now she has achieved that unity, she has waked up, and she has not only solved all her ideological problems but has solved them satisfactorily. That is to say China has united under the revolutionary ideals of the Three Principles of the People. This very fact is now our greatest bulwark in our struggle against aggression and the surest guarantee of the success of our efforts for national reconstruction. I would advise you therefore to acquaint yourselves fully with the significance of our Revolution and of our Three Principles of the People, for if you fail to understand these, you will never be able to solve the problems of East Asia.

You are also generally aware that our resistance is the result of training in the spirit of nationalism. This generalization is correct but needs further explanation. It is true that the determination of our entire nation—armed forces and civilians—to resist is the result of our patriotism, but our patriotism is of a different quality from yours. We admit that the Japanese people are exceedingly patriotic, but only within the limits of a narrow nationalism. While your country was weak, you devoted your efforts toward securing wealth and power; but when you had once become strong, you turned your efforts toward expansion. And so your patriotism degenerated into aggression, until Japan has become what she is today. While you love your own country, you have no respect for other peoples who equally love their native lands. In fact, you go further and look with hatred and jealousy on the patriotism of others. You have a very high opinion of yourselves, but you look down with contempt upon your neighbors. Your minds are filled with the narrowest and maddest ideas of aggression, a fact which has resulted in the brutal and inhuman invasion of China during the past two years. With China it has been otherwise. The nationalism we believe in is the nationalism of the Three Principles of the People. As already mentioned, our nationalism aims at securing liberty and equality for China in the community of nations, while at the same time respecting the liberty and equality of other nations. In other words, we love

our country but respect others who love theirs. Therefore, our ideas are thoroughly peaceful and non-aggressive, being the expression of a love which embraces others as well as our own people. This spirit has always been the basic characteristic of Chinese civilization. Unfortunately, since the medieval days, politics in China has ceased to make progress, and this invaluable spirit of peace has degenerated into passivity, disunity, and lethargy. Toward the end of the Manchu Dynasty, when China was in a critical condition because of serious external menace, our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, sounded a clarion call to our people to rise in revolution and rebuild their country. He crystallized in his thought all the wealth of China's cultural heritage, combining it with the best of modern thought, and with the revolutionary experiences of other nations. The result was the Three Principles of the People.

To understand our nationalism, one must understand the Three Principles of the People in their entirety because they form one consistent and indivisible whole. First, let me point out that China's is a true nationalism and not a glorification of the State. The difference lies in the fact that while China is fighting for her own liberty and equality, she has no selfish or aggressive designs on others. Our nationalism is based on a comprehensive system of political and economic ideals and principles. To put it more briefly: politically, we aim at a government by the people, of the people, and for the people. In economics we aim at equalization of land ownership, regulation of capital and improvement of the people's livelihood. The former is set out in the Principle of the People's Sovereignty and the latter in the Principle of the People's Livelihood. These guiding principles are all based on old established ideas in Chinese culture supplemented by the best features of Western thought. By a deliberate process of selecting the good and discarding the bad, the whole has been welded into unity.

The Three Principles of the People are designed to meet the present needs of the nation, to guarantee the permanent welfare of the people, and to open a way to the ultimate realization of the great ideal of universal brotherhood. The standpoint of the Three Principles of the People on international affairs is entirely peaceful and non-aggressive and at the same time righteous and progressive. In a word, the Three Principles of the People are revolutionary principles.

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China today is a country rising to new life, a country which believes in these principles and is in the act of carrying them out in the process of reconstruction.

The chief obstacles which modern China has encountered in the course of its revolution come from within. Dr. Sun, therefore, devoted all his efforts toward arousing the people. Although our comrades have continued the struggle after the death of our great leader, numerous obstacles in ideology have shown themselves both among the people and within the Kuomintang itself, either because of the lack of a firm faith in these principles, or because of actions inconsistent with them. Since the 17th year of the Republic (1928), owing to the pressure of external difficulties and internal troubles, our Government has been unable to accomplish very much in the political and economic spheres. Upon self-examination, we have discovered many faults, and realized that our efforts have been insufficient; but one comforting thought is that the people in general have made steady progress.

By the time your militarists started their large-scale invasion of our country two years ago, we had already reached unanimity in our faith in the Three Principles of the People, and in our enthusiasm for and understanding of the need of supporting our revolution and the work of reconstruction. At that time the fires of patriotism had already started burning in people's hearts, together with a willingness to lay down their lives for the nation, and a firm determination not to be alienated or weakened by any of the enemy's intrigues. It was because of this united spirit and determination that we began our War of Resistance. The war has now gone on for two years. Heavy as our losses have been, our progress has been even greater. The brutal invaders have not only done their utmost in the way of destruction at the front, but have also been guilty of all manner of atrocities upon non-combatants, men and women, old and young, in the areas they have occupied. At the same time they have sent their airplanes to bomb our cities, both those near the front and those in the interior, killing and injuring our civilians. This orgy of atrocities has been going on every day. Although throughout the occupied areas numerous villages on the plains and in the mountains and numerous fishing hamlets are now being used by patriotic Chinese as bases for guerrilla warfare—bases which the Japanese

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are powerless to destroy—nevertheless all along the lines of communication, wherever the Japanese have gone, our people have lost all their belongings. Their homes have been destroyed and many cities and villages have been reduced to ruins.

At a time like this, it is impossible for our soldiers and civilians not to feel, one and all, how absolutely the fate of the individual is bound up with that of the State. Similarly they have come to understand more clearly the cruelty of your Japanese militarists, and have also gained a deeper appreciation of the greatness of the Three Principles of the People. I can assure you that all our soldiers and civilians, who, directly or indirectly, are loyally resisting the enemy, know quite well for what they are fighting and dying. They all know that every effort made and every life sacrificed is absolutely necessary, is for a worthy cause and has its reward. What is the reward? The reward is to know that the freedom and happiness of all future generations has been secured by the sacrifice of this generation. This freedom and happiness, moreover, will benefit the whole of mankind, Japan herself included. That is to say, the new China of the Three Principles of the People will through this self-sacrifice be firmly and solidly established; a pillar of world peace and a power in world progress. And there will be need for reformation in Japan, that East Asia may be spared a recurrence of this tragedy.

The hatred aroused in the hearts of all our people by the brutalities of the Japanese troops, officers and men, intense as it is, is directed against their conduct and ideas rather than against them personally, because they are a part of the misguided Japanese people, who have one and all been duped by your militarists' propaganda and your misguided educational policy, and have been forced into the way by orders they dared not disobey. Hence the responsibility lies with your militarists and not with your soldiers. We know that many of your soldiers are educated men and were before the war good citizens with their own businesses. Among them are some who are opposed to aggression but who have been conscripted just the same. Therefore, while we are determined to crush the enemy's forces so as to liberate ourselves from Japanese aggression, we have never felt hostile to the Japanese people, nor have we entertained thought of revenge.

Last year I issued a revised set of rules providing for the good

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treatment of prisoners of war and stipulating that the living conditions and food of captured Japanese officers and men should be the same as those for our own fighting services. My order has been meticulously observed by all ranks in our army, so much so that a number of prisoners has been moved to express their gratitude especially because we desisted from any acts of hatred or revenge. The reason for this is that our army is constituted of revolutionary soldiers imbued with the Three Principles of the People. Besides having an unshakable determination to fight to the finish, we have also a revolutionary faith strengthened and ennobled by our determination to resist and defend ourselves.

It may be argued that the outcome of the war will be determined by force and that the Three Principles of the People cannot take the place of military strength. I will answer this by saying that a war is decided in the last analysis by the aggregate strength of a nation, and that a nation's greatest and ultimate source of strength is its national spirit. I may add that the reverses we suffered during the first stage of the war were due more to inadequate training of the spirit of the nation than to inadequacy in armaments. Since then, the longer we have fought, the stronger we have become. There are, of course, numerous factors leading to this result, but the most important is the fact that the experiences and lessons we have learned during the two years of war have strengthened the spirit of the people.

If you Japanese people want to put yourselves in a position to predict the outcome of this war, you cannot do better than to compare the two sides. On what else do your militarists depend besides the force of arms in this invasion of China? What can you give in the way of clear and satisfactory reasons to convince the Japanese soldiers that their sacrifices are not in vain? On the other hand, every soldier in the Chinese army knows that his sacrifices are for his country, for his people, and for the Three Principles of the People. At least, he knows that by sacrificing himself he is saving the nation from slavery, and the country from destruction. He also knows that if he falls, countless others will take his place and carry on the struggle until the final victory is won. So he knows that his is a glorious sacrifice, and his heart is at peace.

On the other hand, despite all your professions of patriotism,

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the actual result of your actions is disaster for your country. It is now two years since you started this invasion, but the more you invade China the greater your difficulties become. Not only is your future uncertain, but your defeat draws daily nearer. Ask yourselves this question: Whereas China has no choice but to defend herself, what reasons are there which make it necessary for Japan to invade China? Taking a comprehensive view of world affairs, it is clear that even if your present attempt to destroy China should succeed for the time being, it would only result in war on a still larger scale. The Chinese people will never surrender, and sooner or later they will rise again. Now that you Japanese have had a taste of the stubbornness of China's resistance, you must realize even more clearly the impossibility of conquering China.

I can put it another way. Chinese soldiers are sacrificing their lives for their country; but Japanese soldiers are sacrificing their lives simply for their militarists, with disastrous results ultimately for their own people. The real meaning of "self-sacrifice" is to sacrifice your own interests in order to secure the greater good of the nation as a whole. This is what the Chinese soldiers are doing and the Japanese are not. The further the Japanese troops go in their invasion of China, the more dangerous their position becomes; as a result they are not only being killed to no purpose, but their death is actually harmful to the State. Those of you Japanese who are genuinely patriotic are bound to agree with me, if you but think dispassionately. The Japanese people ought to know that a nation should only fight in self-defense and not for purposes of aggression. If the victim of aggression is a nation with no culture and no political organization, and already headed for destruction, an attack may be temporarily successful. But unprovoked aggression against an independent country with a heritage of culture and history has always resulted in defeat. All the more will this be the case in the Sino-Japanese conflict. China, although weak, is a great country with a great culture; and more, she is a nation arising to new life on the road of revolution. But her revolution, so far from being harmful to Japan, is on the contrary beneficial to Japan. Why then do you seek, without any provocation, to destroy China's independence by launching this war of aggression? I can say that from the beginning of the war we have been victorious in spirit and in principle. This is because Japan is

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unquestionably the aggressor, while China is fighting in self-defense. Furthermore, Japan has nothing corresponding to China's firm faith in the Three Principles of the People. You have of course a number of so-called principles, new slogans and catchwords, but they are in the last analysis nothing but various expressions for the same thing—aggression. Even when looked at in the most favorable light possible, they prove to be nothing more lofty than national self-seeking. Many of the new phrases and slogans have been coined as this war of aggression has progressed, but the real purpose underlying these phrases is simply the destruction of China as an independent nation. They are aimed at making Japan the conqueror whose commands China, and all other countries in East Asia, must obey. Such phrases are designed simply to whitewash aggression and throw dirt in people's eyes; they are not principles at all.

China on the other hand possesses not only principles but good ones. China's resistance, based on the Three Principles of the People, aims not only at our own salvation but at that of others, and seeks the good of others as well as ourselves. What we are striving for with all our might is China's freedom and a position of equality among the nations, but we respect at the same time Japan's freedom and equality. Compared with the stupid policy of Japanese aggression which seeks simply Japan's own interests at the expense of other nations, and ends in injuring Japan along with others, the principles we follow, when looked at from the standpoint of morality, are as different as chalk from cheese.

I am convinced that the ultimate outcome of the war will depend upon the moral position of the two countries. Now our resistance is based on reasons which are absolutely just and therefore are of moral authority; it is based also on faith in the Three Principles of the People. Japan on the other hand has no such basis for her actions. Therefore, in this war we have already been completely victorious in spirit. I may add that the Chinese philosophy of war is in full conformity with the Orient's traditional code of ethics. In military affairs it gives precedence to *tao* (the right way); it is based on law; it stresses justice rather than gain, and prefers sagacity to force. These four are the most important principles by which in all wars in Oriental history, ancient or modern, success or failure has been judged.

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The war of aggression which your militarists are at present waging outrages all four of these principles: it is waged in defiance of *tao* and law; it ignores justice in its avaricious greed; it has a fanatical belief in force; and it exhibits a complete disregard for reason. In short, it violates all moral codes and military principles. When a comparison is made between China's conception and practice and those of the Japanese militarists, the grounds for our confidence in final victory become apparent.

Some of you Japanese may not agree with what I have said thus far. The present rulers of Japan have always claimed that Japan has gone to war to liberate China and to liberate Asia. You may ask: Is not this a valid moral ground for Japan's action? I would answer that again you have been duped. I have already dealt at some length with the fiction of the "New Order in East Asia," but I wish to stress two more points in this connection. First, China is being invaded by Japan and not by other countries. How can it be maintained that an invasion of China means China's liberation? Liberation means freedom. At this moment Japanese aggression is busily engaged in trying to destroy the Chinese people's political and economic freedom, and yet your militarists have had the temerity to declare that they are liberating China. Such distortion of facts is most reprehensible. Secondly, your militarists say that China is being oppressed by European and American Powers, and is more or less a colony of theirs. This is a libel; such truth as it contains refers only to the period before our revolution and the establishment of the National Government. During recent years, the Powers have uniformly pursued a policy of peace toward China. Since the National Government came into power, China's relations with them have improved in all respects. There has been mutual observance of treaties, and confidence in the other's good faith. Further, the Powers have been generally sympathetic toward China's policy of peace and reconstruction. They have in no way infringed upon our sovereign rights; on the contrary, they have all respected China as an independent nation. Consequently the claim of your militarists that China is more or less a colony of the Powers is not borne out by the facts. It is nothing more than a pretext for Japan's encroachment upon the commercial interests of other nations in China, and a part of the lying propaganda used by your militarists to stir up the

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uninformed Japanese people, and so facilitate their attack upon China. There is not a vestige of truth in it.

China's treaty relations with foreign countries, entered into during the previous century, have been considerably improved during recent years. From the time it came into power, the National Government has been determined to seek a gradual solution of all outstanding problems through diplomacy—a diplomacy based on peace and good faith. Since all the Powers concerned are peace-loving and can be trusted, there is no question that, had it not been for the Japanese invasion of China on September 18, 1931, and her attacks on China since, we should long ago have succeeded in revising our treaties with these countries. Of late, your militarists have brought pressure to bear on the concessions in Shanghai and Tientsin. But only the Chinese Government has the right to discuss with the countries concerned the question of these concessions. The Japanese attack on the concessions constitutes a definite infringement of the interests of those nations, and shows at the same time a contempt for China's sovereignty. The ultimate aim is to occupy those concessions by force, oppress Chinese residents therein, and rob China. Their action is nothing less than illegal aggression against China and other countries in order to enslave still more. This being the case, how can your militarists go on spreading the lie that they are liberating China? To put it briefly, the policy of your militarists is to conquer China, while the goal of the Chinese armed forces and people is to free themselves from Japanese aggression. All your militarists' tricks of calling black white cannot deceive us or the world at large; the only ones deceived are you Japanese people who are kept in the dark.

As for the talk about the "liberation of Asia," it is even more ridiculous. China is the largest independent country in all Asia, and you are trying for no reason whatever to conquer it; so how can you speak of "liberating Asia"? In view of your violent policy toward a great country like China, is there any need to discuss Japan's sinister intentions against countries that are small and weak? To put it briefly, when your militarists talk of liberating Asia, they really mean to conquer it. Their objective is to "liberate" all the nations of East Asia in such a way as to turn them into puppet regimes like "Manchukuo" and Korea or subject kingdoms like those in which the conquerors are the masters and the conquered

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are the slaves. Their scheme is a vast one; only there is no possibility or chance of its ever being realized.

To return to my former point: morally speaking, Japan has already been defeated, while China has already scored a spiritual victory. Continuing this thought, I will explain to you why a spiritual victory is sure to be translated into an actual triumph. You must realize that in a war the most important thing is men. Everything depends on men. Now China has risen up to resist her enemy simply in self-defense; the entire nation believes in the Three Principles of the People. So all the human problems have been solved; China today has only one will and one task, namely, Resistance and Reconstruction. The objectives of and reasons for our resistance are thoroughly understood by every Chinese; the only questions still awaiting solution are those of technique and material. As for the policies to be followed in political and economic reconstruction, both during and after the war, these were decided upon long ago. Today, therefore, there are substantially no points of dispute in China; all we have to do now is to exert ourselves and work hard.

Although the enemy has occupied many places in China, our people in these areas have always remained stanchly loyal to the nation; they will never be taken in by the enemy. The few traitors and rebels—the scum of the nation—cannot in the least affect the spirit and morale of the population as a whole. In fact, the more your militarists try to rule China through the Chinese, the more insulted will we Chinese people feel, and the stronger will our determination become. We remain calm, even optimistic, seeing the difficult but glorious path which history has marked out for us. The one thing for us to do is to tread that path, willing to undergo any hardships, ready to make any sacrifice. Our suffering today is our retribution for inadequate efforts in the past. Even more surely will our present sacrifices prove to be a guarantee of our future glory and prosperity. Because we are conscious of our common responsibility and because we have a common faith, no matter how stormy and critical the condition may be, our hearts will always remain calm and cheerful like a gentle breeze after rain, or like the radiant moon shining through clouds in the sky. Such a state of mind no aggressor nation can ever attain.

To tell the truth, it has not been easy for China to find an ade-

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quate solution for the human factor. It has been especially difficult to eradicate the selfish ease-loving attitude of many of our people. However, since the war began, our people in general, moved by a deep sense of gratitude to our brave and loyal officers and men at the front, and by the suffering caused by the destruction of their country and of their homes, have been stirred to new heights of courage and determination, and have had all thoughts of selfish ease burned out of their souls. I make bold to say that ordinarily it would have taken more than twenty years to bring about the progress recently made in the spirit and moral fiber of the whole nation. This progress can be seen in all alike, in able-bodied conscripts and in other compatriots who have been engaged directly or indirectly in wartime activities in the various war areas; in our technical personnel, who have been busy, both at the front and in the rear, manning the lines of communication, taking care of transportation, speeding up production and manufacturing; and also in our farmers and workmen in general.

During these last two years, the executive personnel in all walks of life—in our educational and research institutions, in our business and industrial establishments—and large numbers of our students and other young people, both boys and girls, have shown a true spirit of self-sacrifice, and have made the most amazing progress. This is what has given me a deep realization of the greatness of our nation and a strong conviction that a bright future lies ahead. Since war is a matter of men, and since we are absolutely superior to Japan in manpower, while deficiencies in material equipment can be made good, what is there to prevent us from continuing the fight? What is there to prevent us from winning the war? Of course, Japan's armaments are much larger than ours, but we have good reason to believe that day by day we can steadily reduce the discrepancy and also find means to nullify the effect of the enemy's superiority. Moreover, while you have many potential enemies, our enemies number only one. The longer you persist in invading China, the lower will Japan's international status sink, and the more dangerous will her position become. We have only to fight this one war. You are surrounded by foes, whereas we are befriended by the whole world. There is no need to say who will win or who will lose; it is perfectly clear.

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Today I have spoken as the representative of the Chinese nation and on the basis of the historical friendship between our two countries as well as of the Three Principles of the People. My advice has been given in all sincerity in a spirit of love for my own people and for you, our enemies. At the same time I must tell you that if you continue blindly to follow your militarists, it will make no difference to China. We will maintain our moral stand, and continue to press on simultaneously with our War of Resistance and work of reconstruction, relying on our inexhaustible manpower and our united faith in the Three Principles of the People. Fortified by our own internal solidarity and assured of the moral support of all friendly nations, what is to prevent us from striking down the common enemy of all nations in East Asia? Against force which you regard as almighty we pit our Three Principles of the People, which are like tempered steel: and we shall see whether force or right is victorious. There is no need for me to prophesy; facts in the future will speak for themselves. As I said before, "China's success in self-defense does not mean the defeat of the Japanese people; but the true success of the latter can only come through the defeat of the policy of aggression pursued by the Japanese militarists."

China and Japan are neighbors. They have been bound together from the earliest days by the closest of cultural ties. We have always been keenly alive to this fact. We who believe in the Three Principles of the People have taken universal brotherhood as our ideal, and have no racial or geographical prejudices. With our neighbors, therefore, we naturally hope to maintain amicable relations. For this reason, even though we are in the midst of a sanguinary war, we bear in our hearts no enmity toward the Japanese people. We are sure that many of you are men of intelligence who have not understood the issues at stake because you have been deceived by the propaganda of your militarists. I have, therefore, addressed to you these words of sincere counsel, so as to help you distinguish the right from the wrong. I have done this simply as an expression of the moral idealism that is inherent in our national spirit. My advice to you is twofold: first, thoroughly to repent of your errors; and secondly, radically to change your national policy.

The plan of your militarists to destroy China's independence is absolutely wrong. You ought to realize that the existence of a strong

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and independent China is definitely in Japan's own interest, because a strong China is the best guarantee of peace in East Asia; and Japan will be the first country to benefit from such a state of peace. On the other hand, if China had failed this time to put up a strong resistance, she would have become a Japanese colony. Just ask yourselves: Have not the twenty million Koreans and the four million Formosans whom you have mistakenly thought of as being completely enslaved, been waiting for an opportunity to rise in rebellion? Now if you add another four hundred and fifty million Chinese, who, if they were to be conquered, will hate Japan intensely, no matter how you try to oppress them—whether by weakening the people with opium or reducing them to slavery, your difficulties will only be increased. Our deep-rooted Chinese culture, which has grown richer with each passing generation, and our powerful national spirit can never be destroyed. By the time you have conquered China there will be left only a few tens of millions of you Japanese people and these will be either preparing for war or actually fighting every day; their political and economic conditions will grow steadily worse until one day, when a big crisis comes, Japan will completely collapse. This will give China and Korea an opportunity to rise again. That is why the policy of your militarists is as injurious to Japan herself as it is to China. The so-called "Asia Development Board" which your government has established, is in reality a "China Destruction Board," which I am afraid will eventually become a "Japan Destruction Board." From this point of view, China's resistance has done much for Japan, because it has shattered your militarists' illusion of the almighty of force. At the same time it has given the Japanese people a good opportunity to save Japan from her grave danger. I advise you, therefore, to wake up, to repent of the wrong you have done, and to save yourselves as quickly as possible.

In our struggle today with the enemy, what we rely on is our magnanimity and courage. Because of our courage, Japan may employ her entire armed forces in an attack on China, only to find that the longer we fight the stronger we become. On the other hand, our magnanimity makes us look upon the sufferings of the Japanese people as our own sufferings. The world situation is changing very rapidly, and so I advise you not to miss this opportunity of saving yourselves. As to the method of saving yourselves, first of all you must radically

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change your policy toward China, and completely abandon your methods of aggression. I would urge you to recognize and respect China as an independent nation with her own sacred sovereign rights, just as we regard Japan. We cannot permit the slightest infringement of our sovereign rights. If they are threatened, there must be war. If this is the case with infringements, how much more must it be the case with your militarists' design of permanently occupying our whole country and using traitors to set up puppet regimes.

I would advise you to recognize the fact that the existence and development of a new and independent China, founded on the Three Principles of the People, cannot be stopped by Japanese aggression. The final sufferer will be Japan herself. At the same time I would urge you to lose no time in restoring to its rightful place our Oriental moral code, and in learning to appreciate the real significance of the Three Principles of the People. The Oriental moral code as set forth by Dr. Sun Yat-sen includes loyalty, filial devotion, kindness, love, integrity, righteousness, harmony, and peace. The last six tenets form the basis of our foreign policy. I would advise you to make a complete change and adopt these same principles. At least I hope you will no longer deceive people, but use words in their real sense. Do not resort to tricks of deception. Just as we respect Japan and the Japanese people, so you ought equally to respect China and not do anything to insult her.

Finally, I wish to repeat what I said last year: "From the very beginning, the Chinese army and people have looked upon all who love peace but who are being oppressed by their own militarists, as our close friends with common interests at stake; and so our hearts have been full of warm feelings and keen expectations toward you. I fervently hope that you will carefully consider the future welfare of our two countries, and unite in opposition to the brutal measures of your militarists, thus manifesting the resolute purpose and moral strength of the Japanese people."

I hope that you will realize that Japan's real enemy is to be found neither in China, nor in other parts of the world, but inside Japan herself. I send you this message with the utmost sincerity and I urge that you give it long and earnest consideration.

No Far Eastern Munich

An address delivered at the Monday Morning Assembly of the National Government on July 24, 1939.

JULY 24, 1939.

COMRADES: We are entering upon the third year of the war with a greater national solidarity and a stronger will to resist than ever before. The intrigues of the enemy and his puppets only fan our revolutionary spirit and make us more determined to fight on. The more difficulties we meet, the more vigorously will we press the struggle and the more quickly will we achieve victory.

Our military situation has vastly improved since the fall of Hankow. From now on we will only advance, never retreat. We have gained in unity within the Party and Government by the departure of Wang Ching-wei, and are now of one mind and purpose in the prosecution of the war. I believe that we are now ready to surmount all obstacles on the way to freedom. Difficulties will only spur us on to more intense effort. This has been true in all revolutions. Think of what severe privations Turkey and Russia endured in the course of their revolutionary struggles. I have said on several occasions, "Our present trials are nothing compared with what we must endure. We will have to suffer far more in the future. But it is in the midst of difficulty and danger that we discipline ourselves to fight, and it is out of strain and suffering that we will win our final triumph." The present War of Resistance is the culmination of our revolutionary struggle. The course of our Revolution is not affected by changing currents in the world situation. Our enemy is trying to demoralize us by instigating treachery against us and to isolate us from the nations friendly to us. But we are not afraid of such tricks. They merely make us more united and determined. We cannot possibly be isolated as long as the majority of the common people in the world support justice and fair play and sympathize with our cause. Our Revolution has not depended merely upon material support. Before 1926 we fought our way

with bare fists. Our enemy shows little understanding of the spirit that inspires us today if he thinks he can make us submit by threats against the nations friendly to us or by inciting traitors to undermine our economy.

According to some foreign opinions Japan expects to bring about a "Far Eastern Munich." But this is simply a guess on the part of certain newspapers as to the motives and aims of the Japanese militarists. In reality there cannot possibly be a "Far Eastern Munich" because nations on friendly terms with us are too well informed on world conditions and too conscientious to abandon their obligations as well as their legal position in the Far East. They will certainly not overlook their own vital interests. It is true that the British Government is at present carrying on conversations with the Japanese Government regarding China. But China cannot in any way be compared with Czecho-Slovakia, for our new nation was created by our own revolutionary efforts while Czecho-Slovakia was born out of the European War and the treaty following it. After two years of war only a few shameless traitors have left our camp. Our country is more united than ever and the determination of our soldiers and people to resist is absolutely unshakable. We will not surrender under any circumstances nor give up our inalienable right to defend our country. The world knows this.

If a nation when attacked does not exert itself and resist the attack bravely, it cannot hope that other countries will make unavailing sacrifices on its behalf. This explains the tragedy of Czecho-Slovakia. From the vantage point of our own two years of struggle we can see that the forces making for justice in the world are gathering momentum and when the right time comes they will make themselves powerfully felt. We firmly believe that "Heaven helps those who help themselves" and that in all phases of our struggle—military, economic, and diplomatic—we must rely chiefly upon our own efforts. If any nation wants to help us, we welcome the help; if no nation helps us, we must struggle all the more resolutely to the very end. No friends will abandon or betray us if we ourselves are strong and upright. If we remain true no friendly nation will be frightened by the enemy into changing its fundamental policy toward us.

The crooked thinking and propaganda of the enemy are really

beneath our contempt. Putting aside all legal and moral considerations and speaking only in terms of self-interest, we cannot conceive of Britain really compromising with Japan. Great Britain knows Japan even better than we do; she well knows that Japan is no longer her Far Eastern watch-dog of twenty years ago but rather a mad dog turning against its former benefactor. How can Britain possibly give up her own rights and interests and yield to Japan? As much as Britain desires a peaceful solution, she can make only such concessions as will not conflict with China's rights and with the provisions of the Nine-Power Pact. Otherwise she will be supporting Japanese aggression and helping Japan to destroy the Pact. This would be equivalent to attacking China, and if Britain turns against China she will make enemies of all the other signatories of the Pact. It is unthinkable that Britain should sacrifice her long-established relationship with China and cast aside her partner America for the sake of placating a faithless and unprincipled aggressor nation. We refuse to pay attention to wild Japanese propaganda about a change in British policy; we place our confidence in the governments of friendly nations and in the influence exerted by public opinion in these nations on the side of justice and right.

Moreover, any understanding with regard to China arrived at by two Powers, such as the rumored Anglo-Japanese agreement, would have no validity whatever and could not be put into effect without the approval of the National Government of China.

I am confident that the international situation will rapidly change in our favor. And yet in the end our own courage and determination will be the decisive factors. We should not rely upon others. Wishful thinking and a dependent attitude are incompatible with the spirit of our revolutionary struggle.

Next a word on our national economy and the currency problem. The foundation of our national economy is stronger than when our Government was in Nanking. Manipulations of the money market and speculation in currency by the enemy and his puppets have pulled down the exchange rates. A temporary state of uncertainty has followed; but I wish to assure everyone that the Government will maintain the value of our national currency, supply foreign exchange for all legitimate transactions, and take appropriate

measures to meet the present situation. The Government has already devised a sounder and more rational method of control of foreign exchange and intends to find a thorough solution of the problem. As far as the foreign concessions are concerned, I have never been in favor of an indiscriminate supply of foreign exchange to those who do business there since this exposes our wartime currency to Japanese-inspired maneuvering and speculation. In the interior, however, the Government will undoubtedly maintain the stability of the national currency and its exchange rate. Commercial transactions can go on as usual under conditions prescribed by government decrees. Likewise, the circulation of national currency in the occupied areas will certainly be maintained. The livelihood of our people will not be affected.

With regard to the maintenance of the national currency and the supply of foreign exchange, the Government is committed to a policy which will further resistance and at the same time better the living conditions of the people. The old method of managing foreign exchange in Shanghai not only was of no advantage to Chinese merchants but even bolstered the enemy and puppet currency systems. If this situation should continue, we would be furnishing the Japanese with an ever more convenient instrument wherewith to destroy the economic foundation of our War of Resistance. With the new government policy this economic foundation will be reinforced. Let all our fellow-countrymen give the Government their loyal support, and improvement of the livelihood of the people will be assured.

I am in a position to reassure you that the recent fall in the exchange value of the national currency will not in any way impair our ability to carry on the war. We long ago laid up adequate military supplies, and we have put aside foreign exchange to meet the need of replenishment. It will not be necessary to convert our gold reserves to this use. There have been good harvests this year in all the provinces; as a result we can increase our exports and furnish more of the necessities of life to our own people. As for imports, the very fact of the fall in exchange rate enables us to exclude many unnecessary luxury articles formerly coming into the country, and put an end to considerable wastage. This will be of great help to our war economy.

I hope that all our fellow-citizens will remember that love of

country involves support of the national currency. Let none be led away by traitors or groundless rumors into the trap laid by the enemy. Let all realize how insufficient are the reserves of the puppet note-issuing institutions such as the Hua Hsing Bank and the Federal Reserve Bank. These so-called reserves are nothing but our own national currency together with pilferings from our foreign exchange stabilization fund. Those in Shanghai and Nanking who have used the notes of these puppet banks have already begun to sell themselves to the enemy.

In closing let me repeat: We must rely upon nothing but our own exertions. The aid of friendly nations will be forthcoming if we can show that we are able to help ourselves. Meanwhile let us strive to win by our own revolutionary spirit. Only by unflinching tenacity of purpose can we overcome the material obstacles in our way. Our greatest dangers, I believe, are behind us; having borne up during the past two years, we now find the ground firmer beneath our feet. Difficulties are to be expected and we must face them. Everywhere now—with our armies at the front, among our people in the rear, in our relations with other Powers—we find much to encourage us. Let us then fight on, fight on until we destroy the evil of Japanese militarism, fight on until we achieve the revolutionary goal of China's national independence.

Appreciation of the Y.M.C.A.

*A message to the International Committee of the
Y.M.C.A. on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary,
July 28, 1939.*

JULY 28, 1939.

TO THE International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association on its fiftieth anniversary I send greetings. I wish to express my appreciation of its work in China, and my hopes of what it may accomplish in the future.

The Young Men's Christian Association is generally recognized throughout China as one of the agencies working for the welfare of our people. Since its inception in this country a few decades ago, it has made valuable contributions toward enriching the life of our people. It has successfully promoted athletics, popularized public health, advanced popular education, provided wholesome amusements, and opportunities for social contact.

It has stimulated the spirit of co-operation and has fostered among our youth the habit of public service. These are qualities of habit which we most desire. In the promotion of the New Life Movement in the past few years I have realized more fully the significance of the preliminary foundation which the Young Men's Christian Association laid for us.

That the Young Men's Christian Association has been able to accomplish so much is due largely to the lofty ideals it has upheld and applied. A Chinese proverb says: "To reach the top, one must start from the bottom; and to arrive at a distance, one must begin nearby." This saying is truly the guiding principle of all reform movements, and I have often tried to instil it in our people and especially in our youth.

During this period of bitter resistance against aggression, the Young Men's Christian Association has participated in all kinds of relief work. Its courage and its earnestness have won the admiration

APPRECIATION OF THE Y.M.C.A.

of our people and of our soldiers. Its activities have fortified us in our belief that righteousness does not stand alone.

Our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, led the Chinese Revolution in the spirit of love for humanity. He taught that service should be the goal of life. Charged as I am with the tremendous responsibility of reviving the Chinese nation, I have pledged myself to overcome all obstacles in order to secure for China freedom and equality, and to realize for the world universal brotherhood. I firmly believe that the struggle of our present generation will add to the future.

I congratulate you and wish your activities steady growth. I hope you will persevere until your highest ideals are attained.

Chinese Mohammedans and the War

An address to Chinese Mohammedan leaders at the First Conference of the Chinese Mohammedan National Salvation Association, delivered on July 29, 1939.

JULY 29, 1939.

COMRADES: Your meetings are over, and you will soon return to your homes. I am sure that you will try to put into effect all the resolutions you have passed and that you will see many good results of your conference here. Your new program is an evidence of progress on the part of the Mohammedans as well as of the Chinese people as a whole. In the present national crisis, we find ourselves still lagging behind in many ways because we have not yet developed to the full our traditional virtues and abilities.

We all know that a people's vitality depends upon their mode of living, their physical activities and their physical fitness. If a people are sound in these three respects they will show a brave spirit; and the spirit of bravery, to my mind, is the distinguishing characteristic of the Mohammedan people. May I hope that this spirit will be developed to the fullest extent so that a good example may be set to the whole nation? Another hope is that the Chinese Mohammedans will accept all that is best in modern scientific knowledge, because knowledge multiplies our effective strength and reinforces our courage. The greatest weakness of our people lies in the fact that our bodies are not strong and our lives are undisciplined; as a result our national will is flaccid and our national spirit lacks unity and vigor. Our soldiers are more scientifically trained now than they were before; but they still cannot compare with soldiers in many foreign countries. One of the good qualities of the Chinese Mohammedans is their militant life and physical fitness. If this quality could be popularized so that the whole Chinese race becomes physically fit, then the aim of the Chinese Mohammedan National Salvation Association will have been fulfilled.

My second point has to do with the Mohammedan religion

itself. You are all well instructed in the teachings of your religion. I hope you will go further and propagate your ideals among your co-religionists so as to contribute to the progress of society. Mohammedanism has many good points; its weakness is its lack of sufficient understanding of the nature of society, with the result that Mohammedans tend to become an isolated group of people. They remain alien to the non-followers of their religion, and by their peculiar customs they estrange themselves from other people in China. What they should realize is that all great religions have a similar aim—to save mankind and save the world. All have a universal outlook. Mohammedanism is a great religion and a religion of salvation. To carry out their mission, Mohammedans should try to save not only themselves but also non-Mohammedans. I sincerely hope that Chinese Mohammedans will reaffirm their solidarity with the Chinese people of other religious faiths and thus manifest the true spirit of universal religion.

Appeal to Britain

An exclusive statement for the News Chronicle, London, during the Anglo-Japanese discussions in Tokyo, and published on July 29, 1939.

JULY 29, 1939.

THE best course for Britain is to cease negotiating with Japan. This is my frank opinion.

After reading the formula for the negotiations on Tientsin agreed upon by Britain and Japan, I expressed the opinion that concessions to Japan at China's expense will conflict with the Nine-Power Treaty and will help the Japanese to undermine the treaty. I still maintain that opinion with regard to the present negotiations in Tokyo.

How can there be a rapprochement or compromise between Japan and Britain? Japanese militarists are so obsessed with the idea of their divine mission to rule Asia that any temporary arrangements for the protection of British interests in China are only like feeding raw meat to a tiger. Even if Britain should surrender to Japan all her rights and interests in China patiently acquired during the past century, this certainly would not stop the aggressive activities of the Japanese militarists. The complete abandonment of Britain's position in the Far East—the relinquishing of India, Australia, and New Zealand, in fact Britain's whole position and influence east of the Red Sea—might possibly bring about a rapprochement for ten or twenty years between the two countries. But even this would not, I venture to prophesy, completely satisfy the ambitions of the Japanese expansionists.

Moreover, the so-called "formula," vague and elusive in itself, cannot make one believe in the possibility of a genuine Anglo-Japanese understanding. The world is perplexed as to whether Great Britain has fallen into Japan's trap, or Japan into Britain's trap.

For my part, I deeply regret that China, single-handed up till now, has not been able to score a decisive victory over Japan and

APPEAL TO BRITAIN

has thus forced our friend, Great Britain, to assume such an attitude and to enter into preliminary arrangements, of doubtful value, with Japan.

I firmly believe that the British Government and people will not treat an aggrieved nation in the same manner as an aggressor nation, that they will remain faithful to their promise to respect international treaties, and that they will not help an aggressor nation against the people of China, who are fighting to defend themselves and to uphold justice in the world.

I am confident that the British Government will fulfill their treaty obligations and keep the faith of the 450,000,000 people of China, and all other right-minded peoples in the world.

Laying the Foundations of Local Self-Government

*A second message to educators and community
leaders throughout the nation on August 12, 1939.*

AUGUST 12, 1939.

TO ALL Educators and Social Leaders: In my message to you on January 19 of this year, I urged the importance of your co-operating with the Government especially in extending military service, in bringing about increased agricultural and industrial productivity and in replenishing our manpower and resources for the war. Since my letter was published I have received numerous reports from Party and Government organs in various parts of the country saying that the message elicited an enthusiastic response, especially the proposal regarding extension of military service. In provinces like Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Honan and Kweichow, many social leaders have urged their eldest sons and nephews to join the army. Such patriotism is deeply moving and will have a profound effect upon our struggle.

Since the beginning of the war two years ago, the Japanese have tried hard to win a swift victory but they have miserably failed. Now they are setting up puppet regimes in the hope that the Chinese will start fighting among themselves, and they are flooding the occupied areas with irredeemable paper notes in order to undermine Chinese national currency and obtain foreign exchange for their war purchases. The Japanese are evidently nearing the end of their rope. We must not only answer blow with blow upon the battlefield but must also redouble our efforts in all the fields of reconstruction connected with the war. As the ancient saying has it, "Many trials build up a nation." At a time like this every one of us must carry a share of responsibility for creating a new nation out of the old. To you, the educators and social leaders of our country, I am sending this second message, embodying two more earnest requests.

1. I hope that you will lead the people in carrying out the

national program of spiritual mobilization. You can help the people to observe the Citizen's Pact, to do away with bad social habits, to change mistaken ideas, to reform their ways of living, and to develop a vigorous spirit of endeavor. The Japanese were able to invade our country because our national spirit was low and our nation was weak. Now we are able to resist the invader because our people have awakened and are conscious of the need for a new national life. One way to push the movement for spiritual mobilization is to hold monthly meetings of citizens. At these gatherings let the citizens all reaffirm their pledges to the State and become fired with a new determination to sacrifice for their country. We have a long way yet to go before the people are thoroughly aroused and changed. You must show them the way and encourage them by your good example. Then our enemy and his puppets cannot possibly conquer us. No matter how much the enemy boasts of his superiority and no matter how many conscienceless puppets he gets to work for him, he will certainly fail. We will not compromise and we will win the war. China is such a vast country that even if big cities are lost the Japanese will still be unable to extend their rule to the country districts. It is your duty as leaders to guide the people in all their assemblies and activities, and to inspire them to absolute loyalty to their country. If you can do this, spiritual mobilization and victory are both assured.

2. I hope that you will help local governments to put their finances in order and to lay the foundations for self-government. Self-government is the very heart of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of the People's Sovereignty. Dr. Sun outlined detailed plans and methods for local self-government, and the Central Government has also promulgated a set of regulations regarding self-government which would have been put into effect before this but for the Japanese invasion. Since the war, however, the Government has realized that self-defense is even more important than self-government, and for this reason we have put the *pao chia* system of mass organization into effect on a large scale. It is our conviction that the *pao chia* system, with its aim of training the people to defend themselves and manage their own affairs, is a prerequisite of self-government. Now that the *pao chia* system is producing good results, the Government feels the time may soon come for the inauguration of self-rule. A

FOUNDATIONS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

new set of regulations regarding local administration will soon be enacted; and in the meantime I hope you will do your best to prepare the people for their part in wartime reconstruction and for assuming the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen the functions of local administration are chiefly: registration of the population, assessment of land values, road building, land reclamation, the extension of education, and the organization of various agencies for the welfare of the people. To these should now be added: organization of the people's militia, promotion of the co-operative movement, establishment of granaries, and organization and supervision of the *pao chia* system. Funds for government administration are, of course, necessary. The Central Government is definitely planning to remit a portion of national and provincial taxes for use by the *hsien* (district) governments in order to encourage local autonomy. Now that a part of the national funds will be earmarked for local use, I hope that you will help the Government to eliminate all corruption from the tax system and to maintain a high standard of honesty in service to the people. We expect you to set a good example in the use of all trust funds. Our district governments have been poorly administered in the past largely because the local educational and social leaders have not lived up to their civic responsibilities. You must see to it that the taxes are honestly collected and used, and you must not fear to report cases of squeeze and graft. You must not permit corrupt officials to escape punishment. You must help to mold a sound and vigorous public opinion. We also ask your help in promoting agricultural improvement and in fostering local industries so that our national wealth may be increased.

If you will co-operate heartily with the National Government and help us to lay strong foundations for local self-government, then I am sure we will win the war and emerge from this struggle a more powerful country and a more united people.

(Signed) CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG
(Chiang Kai-shek)

Mission of the People of Shanghai

A message sent on August 13, 1939, the second anniversary of the beginning of hostilities in the Shanghai area.

AUGUST 13, 1939.

MY COMPATRIOTS in Shanghai: On the occasion of the second anniversary of the outbreak of war on August 13, every one of us at the front and in the rear is thinking of Shanghai and of our fellow-countrymen who remain in that city. I wish today to send a special message to the people of Shanghai.

The development of Shanghai during the past hundred years has been closely associated with the modernization of China. Your city has had a particularly intimate connection with the National Revolution. Since September 18, 1931, all our national efforts have been directed toward the achieving of national independence and the building up of our national strength. A great contribution to the cause has been made by the people of Shanghai especially in economic, journalistic, cultural, and industrial fields.

Because of the important position Shanghai occupies in our revolution and reconstruction, our enemy and his puppets always launch their offensives there and make Shanghai a base of operations for all their poisonous intrigues. They want to extinguish the fires of nationalism and patriotism lit by the people of Shanghai. Past events, however, tell us that the more our enemies carry on their nefarious activities, the more intensely do the people of Shanghai hate them, and the more determined are the people of Shanghai to continue the struggle against them. Our compatriots in Shanghai have resolved to carry out their historical mission in our fight for an independent China.

We recall that two years ago today in Shanghai the heroic struggle began. The enemy attacked us fiercely with warships and aeroplanes; his officers and soldiers committed unparalleled atrocities. We suffered heavy losses in life, property, and industry; our universities and cultural institutions were bombed and destroyed;

MISSION OF THE PEOPLE OF SHANGHAI

our commercial districts and industrial areas which we had built up by great effort are now waste lands. Many of our laborers and industrial workers lost their livelihood; yet they are supporting our War of Resistance more firmly than ever. During the fighting in Shanghai, the people of Shanghai enthusiastically contributed money and materials for the soldiers at the front and were ready to endure any sacrifice. You have written many glorious pages of our national history. You have broken the Japanese dream of conquering China in weeks and have changed international opinion about China. Now the Japanese know that China is a nation not easily beaten, and the future of our resistance is bright. The struggle and sacrifice of our people in Shanghai illuminated the first stage of our resistance and assured us that the final victory would be ours. Although two whole years have gone by, yet all of us remember well all that you have done.

Because of changed conditions due to war, we moved our factories from Shanghai and its neighborhood to the interior. Many skilled technicians and laborers have traveled thousands of miles inland to play a new part in our program of national reconstruction. Most cultural institutions have moved to the hinterland and to the southwestern provinces. But a majority of the patriotic people of Shanghai still remain, and with undaunted spirit and firm determination, are opposing the enemy. Many civic leaders from various towns now under Japanese military occupation have come to Shanghai for refuge. All these are manifesting the spirit—"To die from starvation is a small thing, but to lose one's virtue is a very serious thing." During the past year and a half, Shanghai has been a place in which the new vitality of the Chinese nation has been most clearly demonstrated. In spite of the vile intrigues of the enemy and his puppets, our people in Shanghai continue to defend the morale of the nation. Consequently, the enemy and his puppets do not dare to come out in broad daylight. This unshakable determination which the people of Shanghai are showing to the world encourages us immensely. Though you have compared your present position to that of a "desert island," yet the spirit you have shown is like the bright beams of a lighthouse.

More than a thousand miles separate us, yet spiritually we are in constant communication. The stout resistance you put up in the

first half year of war and your persistent purpose during the year and a half since then have won the admiration of our entire nation and also of the world. What I want to tell you as we enter the third year of our War of Resistance is this: Just as your situation has become even more complicated and difficult, so your responsibility toward the nation has become even greater. Now that there are signs, from the military, diplomatic, and economic standpoints, of a turn for the better in our War of Resistance and of the rapid approach of final victory, our enemy has to resort to all kinds of intrigues in order to intensify his political and economic offensives. Although far away from you, I can clearly see the difficult situation in which you now find yourselves and I can understand the trials and sufferings you have been enduring. In the first place, there are now enemy puppets who make Shanghai a base of operations for all their intrigues. They support our enemy's "New Order in East Asia" so as to sell out our nation and enslave our people. They have resorted to all kinds of deception to get our people to work for them, and having failed in this objective, they now employ terrorism and inflict bodily harm on those who stand in their way. Our compatriots in Shanghai are indeed faced with a very difficult situation. Secondly, Shanghai is a city in which are located important international markets. The city has long been a financial center. For the past few months, because of enemy manipulation and speculation in the black market, our national currency, *fapi*, has suffered fluctuations in foreign exchange. Utilizing this opportunity, our enemy has fabricated all kinds of wild rumors with a view to shaking our determination. All of these intrigues show that our enemy is in a hopeless position and is fast approaching exhaustion. Meanwhile, I can see that the trials which our compatriots in Shanghai are suffering will become even more severe as time goes on, and therefore the responsibilities falling on them will be heavier and heavier.

The message I wish to send to the people of Shanghai is this: I believe that you will not be misled by any tempting offers our enemy and his puppets may try to make, and that your determination to resist will not be shaken. I know that all of you have confidence in the National Government and in our final victory. So I wish to review all that I have said since the outbreak of war. Since we have determined to resist against Japanese aggression, we can-

not avoid difficulties and hardships. As a matter of fact, we have actually experienced fewer difficulties and hardships than we had expected. If only our spirit is not shaken our resistance will be firm and strong. The more difficulties and hardships we encounter, the sooner will final victory come. Today loyalty and disloyalty cannot exist side by side. There are only two roads before us: One, which the enemy and his puppets want us to take, leads us to surrender and enslavement; the other is the road of continued struggle. If we are firm in our determination to face any difficulty and hardship, we can win final victory and achieve national regeneration. All true patriots, knowing full well the responsibility which their ancestors of five thousand years bequeathed to them, will choose the latter road. Our compatriots in Shanghai have a strong national consciousness. All our fighting forces and civilian population feel gratified that the difficult struggle which we have been carrying on for the past two years has raised our international status. Now that the military situation is being stabilized and the international situation has turned in our favor, we must exert greater effort to win the final victory. If we relax a little now we shall lose everything we have gained. And so I urge all our compatriots in Shanghai to keep up their spirit, maintain their integrity, and continue the struggle to its bitter end. In order to let you know where your responsibilities lie, I shall enlarge on a few points.

First, I wish all cultural workers and journalists in Shanghai to build up strong spiritual fortresses. Shanghai has been a news center and cultural center. As such, it has assumed a position of international importance. Since the puppets extended their traitorous activities, they have freely employed bribery, intrigue, and even terrorist methods, but up to this day our press has maintained its integrity. This is the best expression of our national spirit. I hope all our cultural workers and journalists will preserve this spirit, and carry on their share of the struggle by reporting authentic news and denouncing editorially the views expressed by enemy puppets. By so doing, they will frustrate the designs of the enemy to fool our people and will expose his shamelessness.

Secondly, I want the bankers and financiers in Shanghai to continue their confidence in our currency. You know well that the fluctuation of our national currency in the foreign exchange market

has been caused by enemy manipulation and speculation. The actual value of our currency has not fluctuated. Our currency system was created in response to the needs of our national economy. The relation between national currency and foreign exchange exists only in foreign trade. Since our basic economic needs can be fully met, the fluctuation of our national currency in foreign exchange will not affect our national economy as a whole, nor the value of the national currency itself. Further, the reserve of our national currency lies in our total national resources, and since there are unlimited resources at our disposal, we also have unlimited reserves for our national currency. Compatriots in Shanghai, as you have faith in our final victory and in the bright future of our nation, you must not let monetary fluctuations shake your faith in our national currency. The Central Government is now considering effective measures to put our wartime finance on a normal footing and to defeat enemy manipulations. Finance is a life artery of our resistance. The Government will naturally take measures to safeguard our national interest so that the livelihood of our fighting forces and civilian population will not be affected. Our people should know that to support the national currency is an expression of their support of the nation, and that the flight of capital is tantamount to selling our nation to the enemy. In the meantime, direct all your efforts to the strengthening of our wartime finances; the Government will never allow individuals to suffer the slightest loss. We have good harvests this year; so there will be no trouble in supplying our nation and our army. The basis of economy in the interior has been strengthened and is firmer than it was last year. The value of our national currency should, therefore, increase. I wish our bankers and financiers in Shanghai to defend our economic fortresses by faith in, and support of, our national currency. If you can do this, then you may be said to have fulfilled your greatest responsibility.

Thirdly, I hope that the youth of Shanghai will bravely face all difficulties and hardships, which may be even more severe in the future than at present and that they will make a clear distinction between what is shameful and what is honorable. Youth is another important artery of our national life. Whether there will be an honorable future for our nation depends upon whether our youth

today act with honor. Our nation being in so difficult a position, we should devote our best and our united efforts to national defense and reconstruction. Hence, none of our youth should indulge in excessive pleasure-seeking; if they do, it means not only personal degradation, but national degradation as well. We have to think of our soldiers at the front who have been fighting so heroically and of those who have been driven out from the war areas and are enduring all kinds of hardships. We have a saying, "When there is a funeral on the streets, we do not sing." So, if we have any conscience, we should pay our respects to those who have suffered during the war. You Shanghai youth may not have the opportunity of joining the army, yet you must maintain your personal integrity and distinguish between what is virtuous and what is sinful, between what is honorable and what is disgraceful. You must concentrate all your efforts on uplifting activities, and be prepared to stand every hardship. You should remember that because of its better communications with the interior, Shanghai has more facilities for research than any other city. You should utilize these advantages to strengthen all kinds of research organizations, and to study all subjects that may have a bearing on our Resistance and Reconstruction. Thus prepared, you can contribute your share to the nation when you are called upon to do so. Above all, youth must know that discipline and the strict observance of rules of conduct are essential to our national spirit in wartime.

Fourthly, I wish all our laborers in Shanghai to stand united in support of our resistance. I believe that Shanghai working men understand clearly what is our national interest. As your spirit is the most revolutionary, so your faith in the ideology of resistance must be firmer and firmer as time goes on. I recall that in the beginning of our war in Shanghai, all of you gave enthusiastic support to the soldiers at the front, and later, when our factories moved to the interior, you too faced many risks in assisting the successful evacuation of our industrial plants from the Shanghai area. Thus, you helped our efforts at national reconstruction, and your spirit has set a good example to all workers in our country. You must maintain this glorious tradition. My fellow-countrymen in Shanghai: you must realize that your strength is just as great as that of our soldiers at the front. You are our most powerful and

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greatest reserve army at the rear of the Japanese lines. If only you would strengthen your organizations and help each other in carrying on the bitter struggle, then you could strike a death blow to the enemy. Those of you who work on the wharves could refuse to handle enemy goods, and then the enemy would not be able to move his goods. Those of you who work in factories, if only you would refuse to work, then our enemy would not be able to make any profits. Others who work in transport service, in postal and telegraphic offices, in the selling of newspapers, and in machine shops can all do the same thing. Workers in Shanghai, there is great strength in you and you can determine whether our enemy live or die. Especially at a time like this, when our enemy and enemy puppets want to sell you out by boring into your organizations, you must take double precaution. Tighten up your organizations, encourage yourselves mutually, and know what is right and what is not, who is your friend and who is your enemy. You must endure every hardship and defeat all intrigues for surrender. Do not let the enemy puppets injure your good name. Maintain your integrity; demonstrate your national spirit.

Fifthly, I wish all our compatriots in Shanghai to help each other. Our War of Resistance is going to be a long one. The longer we resist, the more difficulties we shall face in our national livelihood. Such a tendency is inevitable for any country at war. You have only to see the conditions now existing in our enemy country. There, they have issued domestic bonds amounting to more than Yen 200,000,000. You can see the effects. The depreciation of the Yen and the rapid increase in prices have led the Japanese nation into a very sad state of affairs. Everything is controlled by the State and there is not the slightest freedom. The Japanese people live a much more difficult life than ours. As a result of the increase in population, the rise in prices and the curtailment of employment, I can see that our compatriots in Shanghai are having a much more difficult time now than two years ago. But, since we are now struggling for our very existence, all kinds of hardships must be expected. We are primarily an agricultural people, and we have the traditional virtue of being able to meet hardships. Sufferings that might prove unbearable to an industrial or trading people, can still be borne by us. Now that we all are in a difficult state, we must

encourage mutual assistance. This can be done by persons coming from the same district, by persons belonging to the same clan, by persons having kindred interests, or by persons belonging to the same trade or guild. Those from the interior who have come to Shanghai for refuge are worthy men. You must regard them as honorable fellow-citizens and render them every assistance. In case they want to return to their native places, you must help them financially. You must also extend financial help to those who do not want to return. You must know the difference between disgrace and honor and between right and wrong. If all of us could observe strictly the spirit of the Citizen's Pact by not surrendering to our enemy, by not becoming "obedient subjects," by not accepting "bogus notes," and by not using enemy goods, then we would have no regrets before our nation and our ancestors. If only we could achieve this, then, although we may be poorly clothed and inadequately fed, we will be happy and find life sweet. Then we can continue our resistance and win our final victory. Then we can crush all enemy intrigues.

The above points may not cover all that you want to know. But I can say this to you: politically, diplomatically, and economically, we are prepared for every eventuality. We can stand every hardship and difficulty, and we are confident that the final victory will be ours. Our former difficulties have largely disappeared. The difficulties we now face are those inevitable for any country at war. Our enemies are having a much more difficult time than we. The success of the Revolution depends on successful resistance. Whatever sacrifices we may have suffered have always been a glorious price for freedom. Let all of our compatriots who remain in the "desert island" show the spirit of the "five hundred heroes of Tien Hung" * and emulate their deeds. We all honor you for what you have done. Like strong grass in the storm and like true gold in the fire, you have stood the test at this trying time and we are confident that you will continue to enhance the glory of our nation.

* Tien Hung lived in the third century B.C. Uncompromising, he withdrew to an island with his last five hundred followers. Their loyalty and sacrifice made them famous in Chinese history.

Justice and Equality

*An address made upon receiving a banner from
the Headquarters of the International Peace Cam-
paign, August 18, 1939.*

AUGUST 18, 1939.

JUSTICE AND EQUALITY are the very foundations of civilization. They cannot be destroyed by force. Every assault upon them only calls forth a fresh display of their strength. I am rendered more conscious than ever of their imperishable value as I gratefully receive the banner you have brought me from the Headquarters of the International Peace Campaign.

For more than two years China has been resisting a barbarous invasion, fighting both for her own independence and also for world peace. The Chinese armies and people stand on the front line of opposition to all who would dominate the world by force. Despite all the difficulties that beset them, they will fight on with one heart and purpose until the arch-aggressor with whom they have to deal is completely defeated.

I firmly believe that China's struggle represents the common will of peace-loving men throughout the world. The International Peace Campaign is a movement organized by men and women of more than forty nationalities. It has given China continuous moral support for the past two years, and this has been a great source of encouragement to us. We have observed with special appreciation the movement for aid to China and sanctions against Japan started by Lord Cecil in England and M. Pierre in France and supported by them with such untiring devotion.

As the military situation develops in our favor, the Japanese look desperately for a way out of their impasse and begin to reveal their long disguised ambition to conquer all of Asia. Their present blustering attitude toward the peace-loving Powers is the opening act in their mad scheme to overthrow the existing order in the Far East and to secure undisputed sway over the whole Pacific area.

JUSTICE AND EQUALITY

The people of China know that their enemy is a menace to the world as well as to themselves. And so they will press forward, holding aloft as a symbol of their cause the banner with which you have today honored us. Justice and equality are the ideals for which China is fighting today and for which you are campaigning throughout the world. By enlisting world opinion in support of these ideals you will hasten the collapse of Japanese militarism. That collapse will be a powerful deterrent to all other nations that are bent upon aggression.

Effect of the World Crisis on Chinese Resistance

*An interview with Chinese press correspondents
in Chungking on August 29, 1939, just before the
outbreak of war in Europe.*

AUGUST 29, 1939.

QUESTION: What is your view regarding the latest international developments?

ANSWER: Since the signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, there has been a sudden turn in the international situation and the future is full of uncertainties. However, I have not been taken by surprise as have many others, for I believe that events are following a natural course and will finally work out for the benefit of the world and of our war of defense. Our two years of resistance against Japanese aggression has made the entire world realize the importance of maintaining world peace. All international developments hinge on this central issue of how to keep peace. In the midst of the present international confusion, there appears one very clear current—resistance against aggression and the effort to establish justice in international relations. China's defense has been a powerful factor in the world-wide struggle of Right against Might. Had China not taken up arms against the aggressors in July 1937, the Far Eastern situation and world conditions would be unimaginably worse than they are now. Therefore, we must renew our faith in our cause and fight on without wavering until we achieve the final victory.

QUESTION: Do you think war in Europe can be averted?

ANSWER: Only the Japanese militarists who have been scheming to break up world peace desire a general world conflict. I hope peace in Europe will yet prevail, and that the peace efforts being made by President Roosevelt and other statesmen will be successful.

QUESTION: What will be the effect of the present international changes upon our War of Resistance?

ANSWER: The present trend in international affairs is largely in harmony with the hopes we entertained at the beginning of the war. Henceforth the world situation will benefit even more our national cause. I think that all our soldiers and people should clearly understand the following points:

1. Whatever advantages we have derived from the international situation during the last two years have really been due to the sacrifices of our own people. Today we have achieved more than half of our predetermined objectives; we must now work hard to reach all our goals. We should not pay too much attention to international changes, but should concentrate on winning the war so that those who have sacrificed their lives shall not have died in vain.

2. Since the aim of the War of Resistance is national salvation and the maintenance of our national existence, we have from the very beginning stressed the importance of initiative and self-reliance. We have not encouraged dependence upon others, still less have we advocated the exploiting of the international situation to our own advantage. We should simply stick to our one aim and strive our utmost to attain our final objective of national liberty. Refusal to compromise with aggression, independence, self-reliance, moral integrity, respect for agreements, and fearlessness in the face of Might—these are the foundation stones of our foreign policy. They are also essential elements of our revolutionary program and the main reasons for our strong confidence in victory. We will not be turned aside from our course by the winds of fortune in world affairs today but we will press steadily forward toward our chosen goal.

3. We must realize that only by supreme efforts on our own part can we reach the goal, and that international developments will not always be favorable to us. When the situation is favorable we must not be over-optimistic; when the situation is unfavorable we must not be alarmed and pessimistic. Whatever happens we cannot afford to relax our own efforts for even a moment.

If our people will unite their efforts and shoulder their responsibilities toward the State and toward the world, then China will win her freedom and world peace will become a reality.

China and the European War

An address delivered on September 9, 1939, at the opening of the Fourth Session of the People's Political Council, Chungking.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1939.

DURING the half year since the adjournment of the Third Session of this Council, not only has immense progress been made in national Resistance and Reconstruction but at the same time the crisis in international affairs has been generally favorable to our national cause. At the opening of this Session, however, we find ourselves confronted with a second European War. Naturally we are deeply concerned how best to deal with this new world situation and also continue our policy of prolonged resistance. I shall therefore state the most important problems which should be considered at this meeting of the Council.

I believe that in view of the European conflict we should reinforce our fighting spirit and reaffirm our faith in China's ultimate victory; in this way we may make a still greater contribution toward the new world order. We must have a clear understanding of the international crisis and be ever on our guard. At the same time we must concentrate upon our goal so as to win our war against Japan in the shortest time possible and with the least possible expense. The most urgent tasks before us today are: (1) Concentration of personnel upon reconstruction work in the rear; (2) Strengthening the army in order to achieve military victory; (3) A careful watch upon international events and the active furthering of our wartime diplomacy.

1. Concentration of personnel. In order to achieve the objectives of our War of Resistance we must strengthen our base in the rear and carry through our various economic, industrial, political, cultural and local-government projects. We must lay solid foundations for our Resistance and Reconstruction, irrespective of international changes. This is our fundamental, unchangeable policy;

only by following this policy can we hope to frustrate our enemy's wicked designs. In our reconstruction program we must pay special attention to the northwestern and southwestern provinces, with Szechwan and Sikang as our base of operations. At the last session of this Council, we decided to organize a Szechwan-Sikang Reconstruction Planning Commission and a Szechwan-Sikang Survey Commission. You will be glad to know that during the last few months members of these commissions have traveled over these two provinces, promoting closer relations between the people and the Central Government, and collecting valuable information as a basis for planning reconstruction projects. How to utilize the important data which these commissions have obtained is one of the important questions for this Council to consider. I am sure the Government will welcome any recommendations which this Council may wish to make with regard to reconstruction work in the border area.

It is of prime importance that we secure the proper personnel. The People's Political Council is formed to mobilize the nation's best talents for reconstruction, and with your co-operation I trust that we shall obtain the personnel we need to push our various reconstruction enterprises. China is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and every Chinese citizen should make his contribution toward the nation's rebuilding. I hope that you will not only make recommendations during this session regarding national reconstruction, but will after the session closes help to mobilize the abilities of all our citizens so that our program of Resistance and Reconstruction may be carried through to a successful conclusion.

2. Strengthening the National Army. Detailed reports about military developments since the last session of this Council are being given at another time on the program. Briefly, during the last six months the Japanese have not only failed to achieve any military success except the capture of Nanchang (which the Chinese forces gave up only after inflicting heavy losses on the enemy), but they have been compelled also to evacuate many areas previously taken from the Chinese forces. For example, the Japanese have employed no less than eight divisions to attack our army in the Taihang and Chungtiao mountain regions of Shansi, but our recapture of Tsingcheng has brought their plans to naught. In northern Hupeh, the Japanese have been attacking Nanyang, Hsiang-

yang, and Fangchen, hoping to annihilate our troops in that sector. The result is that they have suffered heavy losses, and have been forced by our men to retreat toward the Sinyang-Hankow section of the Peiping-Hankow Railway, without any strength to re-attack our forces. South of the Yangtze River, they tried to take Changsha from the direction of Nanchang; they not only failed to reach their objective but also lost the strategic city of Kaoan in northern Kiangsi. In other places such as Canton, Tsungfa, Sunwai and Chaochow the Japanese have met with repeated reverses and have wasted a lot of men and materials. On all the fronts, north, south and east, there are evidences that the Japanese troops are gradually weakening. Our army, on the contrary, has been greatly strengthened and improved since the fall of Hankow. Last year I said that our chances of victory would be increased when the war area extended west of the Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow Railways. Events during the last half year have justified that statement. I can assure you now that we have not only recovered our pre-war military strength but have actually doubled it. Our ammunition supplies have also been greatly replenished. But this is not saying that we shall have no more problems or difficulties in our War of Resistance. Actually our future is fraught with all kinds of dangers. We should lose no opportunity, therefore, to strengthen our army, to improve its training and discipline, to bring about closer co-operation between the army and the people, and to promote self-government in all provinces. Members of this Council can contribute information regarding their respective districts, make recommendations as to future courses of action, and help the Government to further its program of mass organization and training.

3. Wartime diplomacy. Finally, in regard to our foreign relations the vital issue today is how to carry on our war of protracted resistance in the face of the new situation in Europe. We all know that the Sino-Japanese conflict is not only a world issue but also the most important world issue. The present confusion in the world is chiefly due to Japan's invasion of Chinese territory and violation of sacred international treaties. We are fighting to protect our sovereignty and safeguard our own national existence, and also to check the rise of international gangsterism, of which Japan is the leader. World peace can never be attained if the Japanese are

not driven out of China. In short, the Sino-Japanese War was the starting point of a general conflict, and is the real center of the present world-wide struggle. Since China represents one-fourth of the world's population, she must bear an especially heavy responsibility for building the foundations of world peace.

Since September 18, 1931, our national policy has been based upon the following principles: (1) Resisting Japanese aggression in order to protect our sovereign rights and territorial integrity; (2) Upholding the sanctity of treaties, particularly the League of Nations Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Peace Pact; (3) Refusing to join the anti-Comintern pact; (4) Conducting our diplomatic affairs on the basis of our own right of self-determination and our own national interests in such a way as to achieve equality and freedom for China, and to strengthen the foundations of world peace. During the last eight years, the National Government of China has consistently upheld these principles.

Now that the European War has broken out, we should redouble our efforts to carry out this policy, irrespective of changes in the international situation. Our enemy has declared a policy of neutrality and non-intervention in European affairs. In other words, Japan now intends to concentrate all her energies upon ending the war in China, and she will reject any mediation on the part of third Powers, so that she can establish her own supremacy in Asia. As I have said before, Japan seems to want a world of her own, without any relation to the world of interdependent nations in which we live. In spite of all that has taken place during the last two years she still dreams about creating a "New Order in East Asia." Now she reveals her opportunist tactics in the face of the new developments in Europe. But our national policy has already been decided and will remain unchanged; we long ago foresaw the difficulties and dangers we would be called upon to face, and under no circumstances will we deviate from our determined course of action. If the enemy concentrates all his energies on solving the so-called China Incident, we will concentrate all our energies on resisting him. At this late hour Japan still boasts about liquidating the China problem, forgetting how her efforts of two years have failed. Japan is at the end of her tether; she is beginning to lose confidence in herself; her troops are becoming war weary; her

domestic situation is rapidly deteriorating. Since she has failed in her military campaign, she is now employing political and economic weapons to extend her power and to build up what she calls the "New Reformed Government in China," but what is really a slave government.

However, within the last half year the puppets and traitors have by their own actions exposed their ulterior motives and criminal intentions. They are not only despised by their fellow-countrymen at home but are condemned throughout the world. Despite their high-sounding names the puppet governments in China are simply creations of the Japanese military regime and tools of the Japanese China Affairs Board and China Co-ordination Committee. They are servants of the Japanese militarists and are in no sense Chinese. Hence, no matter how many puppet governments Japan may establish in China, or how many treaties she may sign with the so-called "reformed governments," our determination to resist Japanese aggression will not be in the slightest degree affected; our fighting spirit will only be augmented. Our chief problem today is not the strength or weakness of our enemy, who is in fact already suffering defeat; our chief problem is how to mobilize all our efforts and concentrate all our resources to carry out our reconstruction program and lay a solid foundation for victory.

Let us not forget that China is engaged in a struggle for her very life. The international situation is capable of sudden and manifold changes, but our national policy is fixed and upon it depends the success of our War of Resistance. If we stand firm, we shall not only achieve military victory but also reach all our other goals. I hope, therefore, that you will deliberate with care, realizing that your words and actions may determine the future of our country for a hundred years to come. Let what you do be based upon our unshakable national policy and point the way to future progress.

The Council will meet this time for only ten days. The points I have mentioned are the most urgent for you to consider during this short session. I wish you the very best success in your meetings.

Rights and Obligations of the Chinese People

An address at the close of the Fourth Plenary Session of the People's Political Council on September 18, 1939.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1939.

THE Fourth Plenary Session of the People's Political Council opened in the wartime capital, Chungking, on the day of the anniversary of the Canton Uprising led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and has continued for ten days. One hundred and forty-one members have attended. Having heard reports of all the measures undertaken and contemplated by the Government and having examined the resolutions adopted in previous sessions, members of the Council feel gratified that the Government has resolutely carried out our national policy of resistance and that our fighting forces and civilian population have stood up courageously against every hardship and difficulty.

This session was convened after the outbreak of war in Europe. Members of the Council now feel that our enemy is fast approaching exhaustion and that our final victory is near. We should promote our political, military, economic, and diplomatic activities with more intense effort so as to adjust ourselves to the new world situation. With this in view, members of the Council have carefully examined various government reports and have proposed 89 resolutions, 82 of which have been passed by the Council. The most important measures adopted are: a request that the Central Government convoke the People's Assembly and adopt the Constitution, non-recognition of the puppet regimes and the issuing of a circular telegram denouncing our public enemy, Wang Ching-wei, a program of reconstruction for the provinces of Szechwan and Sikang, organization of a commission to inspect and comfort the soldiers at the front, proposals regarding stabilization of finance, the relief of the wounded and the care of civilian refugees. After the conclusion of business, the Council will take recess.

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

This closing session is held on the eighth anniversary of the Mukden Incident. Moved by the sorrowful recollections of this day, we should resolve to go on with a firmer resolution and with increased courage. Representing the unanimous opinion of the members of the Council, and in full accord with our predetermined national policy, the People's Political Council wishes now to issue the following message to China and to the world:

(1) At the beginning of our resistance against Japanese aggression, we decided on certain absolutely essential objectives. Not until these objectives are achieved shall we cease our struggle. In the Manifesto issued by the First Plenary Session of this Council, we declared: "The sovereignty and administrative integrity of China must be restored, for this is the minimum requirement of any independent State. The people of China are resolved to achieve that end and nothing can stand in their way. For self-defense and for the sake of decency in international relations, the Chinese nation has resolutely mobilized all its resources to combat that most criminal aggressor nation, Japan. We will not relax our efforts until the day of final victory comes." This is our aim in waging the war, an aim that has been constantly in the minds of all our fighting forces and civilian population. Japan, that lawless neighbor of ours, has been relying for two years now upon her material forces to conquer our nation and to enslave our people. But because of our heroic resistance all her attempts have proved futile. The present fighting strength of China not only exceeds that of last year, but is actually superior to that at the beginning of the War of Resistance two years ago. Those of our members who have been to the front and in the rear all agree that our fighting forces and civilian population are still in high spirits. Particularly since last winter, progress in all lines has been marked. Extremely gratified with what they have seen, members of the Council wish all the fighting officers and soldiers, all the workers in different lines, and all the people in different parts of the country to know how the situation has changed between our nation and the enemy, and to know that final victory is fast approaching. Because we have moral authority behind us, the longer we fight the stronger we become; while our enemies, since they have committed a crime of aggression, are becoming weaker and weaker. All of our fighting forces and civilian population should

appreciate this important trend and understand its deep significance. The fighting forces at the fronts in the North and in the South and in the various guerrilla areas must combat the enemy with renewed vigor, while those at the rear must intensify their mobilization of material resources and manpower. Members of the Council, knowing that it is their duty not to expose military secrets, cannot speak freely about recent strategical developments; but I wish our compatriots to know that China will surely win the final victory. That final victory, however, can only be won through a long period of difficult struggle, and during that long period we must stand united with one will, and fight with fortitude and endurance.

(2) Knowing that it is impossible to conquer China by military force, Japan now turns to political and economic methods of attack. We hate her cunning designs and laugh at her foolishness. The Republic of China is an independent State with sacred sovereign rights that are not to be violated. We are an independent nation with a long and rich history of culture and thought. We can maintain our existence only by the sweat and blood and united spirit of our four hundred and fifty million people. The heroic resistance of our soldiers and civilians during these past two years proves that China can remain free. Having failed to crush us by armed force the aggressor now thinks he can steal our country by means of intrigue and deception. The Manifesto of the First Session of the People's Political Council has already declared: "The puppet organizations in the North and in the South are prisoners of the enemy militarists and renegades of our nation. Although they call themselves governments, they do not possess any real power. They are simply the tools of the enemy militarists and their position is even worse than that of a protectorate." The Manifesto also said: "Since inviolable and sacred rights of government have been vested in the National Government by the will of the people, it follows that those who do not recognize the National Government are, in effect, repudiating the existence of the Chinese nation." Japan has recently been trying to get Wang Ching-wei to organize a new puppet regime in order to carry out her sinister purpose of destroying China's independence. This shows how desperate Japan has become. Although Wang Ching-wei once held important posts in the National Government, since his desertion he is nothing but a criminal guilty of high

treason. To Wang Ching-wei, surrender is co-operation and national enslavement is peace. Having his loyalty to the enemy, he now attacks his own fatherland in order to court the favor of the enemy militarists. Our compatriots at home and overseas have sent out repeated circular telegrams denouncing the traitor, and this Council has just passed a definite resolution of condemnation. The Council now expresses the hope that all our fellow-countrymen will cherish the inviolability of our national sovereignty and will resolve that loyal patriots and traitorous puppets shall not exist side by side. We must repudiate the puppets' conduct, smash their intrigues, and answer their devilish designs with positive action. Meanwhile, members of the Council request that the National Government carry out their recommendations and warn all friendly Powers not to fall into the trap set by our enemy. We have confidence that world opinion will see the facts clearly.

(3) The outbreak of war in Europe is a great misfortune for mankind. But we can see clearly the cause of it. Eight years ago Japan tore international treaties to pieces and began her aggression in China. Our national life is based on the *San Min Chu I* and our traditional foreign policy is respect for treaties; we keep our obligations; we oppose aggression; we love peace. We pay special attention to the obligations stipulated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Anti-War Pact. It is unfortunate that since September 18, 1931, foreign Powers have not enforced effective measures, as agreed upon in these international commitments, to check Japanese aggression. As a result of their failure to do this, Europe too has been at the mercy of aggressor states, and the spirit of aggression and violence has spread like wildfire. Having carefully studied the diplomatic situation, members of the Council feel that our foreign policy in the past has been satisfactory. Our nation stands upon the foundation of morality, and the *San Min Chu I* is the expression of our highest moral virtues. The Principle of *Min Tsu Chu I* (Nationalism) seeks for China liberty and equality, and, at the same time, respects the liberty and equality of all other nations. That is why we are against all wars of aggression and support all attempts at maintaining world peace. Since the outbreak of the War of Resistance, we have won world-wide sympathy. In the Manifesto of the First Plenary Session

of the Council we have already expressed our gratitude to friendly nations. The chief signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty declared their stand last winter, while member states of the League of Nations have also pledged themselves to support our cause. Although war has broken out in Europe, the situation remains unchanged. Vis-à-vis Europe, we shall abide by our obligations as a member of the League. Our chief responsibility is to intensify our resistance against all kinds of intrigues and atrocities on the part of the aggressor state in East Asia. Not only will we frustrate its plan of conquest in China, but we will also obstruct its efforts to bring pressure upon the Powers, and all its other international manipulations. You should know that our international status has been raised as a result of our two years of heroic resistance. China, having one-fourth of the world's population, is undoubtedly the main pillar of world peace. The future of East Asia depends on China. We hope that Great Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union will apprehend clearly that the Sino-Japanese problem is the crux of the world problem. The Chinese nation believes that the successful completion of Resistance and Reconstruction in China is the most important factor in world peace and progress. Whatever changes take place in the international situation, the Republic of China will never absolve itself from the moral obligations which it has assumed. This we can tell the world.

(4) Although Japanese militarism is fast approaching defeat, it still has many designs of one kind or another. Because of the changing international situation, Japan is becoming more opportunistic and ambitious. As for us, we must mobilize the entire nation and intensify all the measures for prolonged resistance so that we may successfully achieve the absolutely necessary objects in this war. In the Fifth Plenary Congress of the Kuomintang, it was resolved that a date be fixed for the convocation of the National Assembly and the adoption of the Constitution. This, however, was postponed because of the war. After two years of war, during which the fighting forces and civilian population have supported the *San Min Chu I* whole-heartedly and have done their part splendidly in all kinds of war work, the nation has achieved a unity and a solidarity that has won the admiration of the world. We cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved, for the enemy is still

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trying to attack us by every conceivable method. We must utilize all of our resources and mend all our weaknesses. After careful deliberation, the Council has come to the conclusion that the enlarging of the people's rights and the strengthening of the national life are the most urgent needs of the moment, and therefore has resolved to request the Government to carry out the resolution passed by the Kuomintang Congress to fix a date for the convocation of the National Assembly and the adoption of the Constitution. We hope that all those who have supported the Government's policy of resistance will just as strongly and unitedly support the Constitution as the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, and will fulfill their obligations to it. The foundation of the nation will then be firmly established and internal peace will be permanently maintained. Members of the Council believe that this is the most important contribution they have made in this Session.

Members of the Council also feel gratified that the Government has paid special attention to reconstruction in the rear. The resolution on the reconstruction program in the provinces of Szechwan and Sikang passed by this Session is one of the first steps toward the carrying out of this policy.

In conclusion, the main work of resistance from now on will be to strengthen all the spiritual and material resources for resistance. The day when we become strong is the day for our enemy to collapse. All the resolutions passed by this Session have but one object: to augment all the material and spiritual resources available for defense and reconstruction. We not only expect our Government to carry out this policy to the fullest extent; we also urge the whole-hearted support of the entire nation.

Members of the Council, we have compared the situation of the enemy and the situation at home and we have considered the road which lies before the enemy and the road before our own nation. Let all our compatriots pay homage to those soldiers who have sacrificed their lives for the nation, and to all who have been loyal to the cause of resistance in other lines of work. For two years now, every drop of blood and every bead of sweat shed in this struggle, both in the front and in the rear, has gained its highest reward. A strong, armed Power like Japan, which has sent all

its best troops to China, has proven powerless to shake our determination and our spirit. No other way left, she now resorts to the old trick of dealing with traitors. This is another proof that our enemy is near exhaustion and that victory will be ours. Compatriots, you should bear this in mind: China today is more powerful than at any other period in her history. Although we have not yet driven our enemy from our soil, our material and human resources are more powerful every day, while the enemy's strength is steadily diminishing. In this time of crisis let every compatriot exert himself to the utmost in order to hasten the revival of our nation; a slight relaxation may mean national enslavement. Life or death is in our own hands. On the occasion of this closing session, members of the Council express the earnest hope that our fellow-countrymen will clearly perceive the way to victory and will move unitedly in that direction. Then we shall not only achieve the restoration of our territorial sovereignty and administrative integrity and free ourselves permanently from external aggression, but we shall also free the Japanese nation from its domination by militarists. Only thus can real peace be established in East Asia.

Wang Ching-wei, the Traitor

An interview with Chinese and foreign press correspondents on October 1, 1939, in Chungking, at which Generalissimo Chiang answered many questions regarding his own attitude and the attitude of the Central Government toward Wang Ching-wei.

OCTOBER 1, 1939.

QUESTION: Wang Ching-wei summoned last month in Shanghai the so-called Sixth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Congress; why have the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang issued no public statement about this?

ANSWER: The reason is obvious. Wang Ching-wei has sold himself to the Japanese, and his crimes are known to all Chinese. They realize that the meeting he convened in Shanghai is nothing but a conspiracy on the part of traitors. Since Wang Ching-wei has *ipso facto* violated the Kuomintang discipline, it is not necessary for the Party headquarters to do anything. The right and wrong in this particular case is clear to everyone.

QUESTION: In his circular telegrams, and proclamations, Wang Ching-wei still calls the Kuomintang members "comrades"—does this mean that he still hopes that he may be forgiven some day and be taken back into the Party ranks? What is the Generalissimo's opinion about this?

ANSWER: In my opinion, Wang Ching-wei is not entertaining any false hopes that he will be re-admitted into the Kuomintang. When he still uses the term "comrades" in referring to the Kuomintang members he is merely trying to confuse the issues, and to blackmail the Party. It is very clear who is behind Wang Ching-wei, and who is the real author of the statements and declarations he has made. In my refutation of the Japanese proposal to construct a "New Order in East Asia," published last autumn, I showed how the Japanese are simply indulging in day-dreams. It seems that Wang Ching-wei also has such day-dreams in common with his

masters. Wang, in fact, is our common enemy and no decent Chinese will ever be able to forgive him. The Chinese people have given me the responsibility for defending the country, whereas Wang Ching-wei under the instigation of the Japanese is now planning to sell our country and our people. Not only for our Party's sake, but also for the country's sake, we must get rid of this arch-traitor. As to Wang Ching-wei's attitude after his defection, I may say that it is not worthy of our notice. But I should point out the fact that although I was well aware of Wang Ching-wei's attitude toward me after 1936, nevertheless I always tried to maintain a tolerant attitude toward him until the time he turned traitor. He became a traitor, we may say, of his own free will, and that being so, it is most unlikely that he will have a change of heart. And it is also unlikely that the Chinese people will forgive him because he will always remain a stain on the honor of our country and race. Even if his conscience should awaken and he should repent of his evil deeds, he could only commit suicide in atonement for his sins. Ever since the beginning of the war, all Chinese, even bandits and prisoners in jail, have shown a patriotic spirit and have done what they could for the country. There are many unsung heroes who deserve the highest praise. I am thoroughly convinced that all Chinese are capable of patriotism, just as I am convinced that no Chinese has ever degraded himself to the extent that Wang Ching-wei has. Wang Ching-wei has capitulated to Japan and has tried to sabotage our War of Resistance; if he should die a hundred times, he could not cover up the crimes he has committed against his country. In my dealings with people, I have always followed the principle of not resorting to ugly words, even if a person has betrayed me. Sometimes, it is true that I criticize people privately, but I have never openly denounced anybody. However, since Wang Ching-wei has become entirely hopeless, no words would be too strong to describe his actions. Now I cannot but denounce him as a traitor to his country.

QUESTION: The Kuomintang Party has always adopted a magnanimous attitude toward its opponents. For example, there have been dissensions in the Party before, but afterwards the differences have always been ironed out. In view of this, why is the Kuomintang adopting such a strong stand against Wang?

ANSWER: You are referring, I suppose, to the formation of the Wuhan government in 1926 and the Canton insurrection of 1931; but we must realize that there is no analogy between these cases and the defection of Wang Ching-wei. All internal conflicts within a Party or country can easily be reconciled as soon as both sides realize their mistakes and see the necessity of working together for their common interests. For example, Chen Chiung-ming revolted against Dr. Sun Yat-sen and even attempted to assassinate our late Leader, but Dr. Sun, being a magnanimous man, forgave him. I, myself, have also asked the Central Government to be extra lenient toward the leaders in the Sian affair. In spite of their great mistakes, Chen Chiung-ming and the people involved in the Sian incident were not traitors against their country. They were not at all like Wang Ching-wei. At a time when the enemy was invading our country, Wang actually made it known that he was in agreement with the enemy's policy of building up a new order in the Far East for the enslavement of China—what is that but the most flagrant example of treachery against one's country? Wang's visit to Tokyo to get the Japanese to redouble their efforts at conquering China and slaughtering our people—what is that again but the height of treachery? Wang made a broadcast from the enemy army headquarters, insulting our troops, throwing contempt on our people, and trying to persuade our soldiers to agree to a regional truce. What is that, I ask, but an act of high treason? Such traitors would be punished by any government, and if the Chinese Kuomintang Party should let Wang Ching-wei go unpunished, it would mean that the Party is forsaking its responsibility to the whole nation. The sea may dry up and the rocks may crumble, but the traitor Wang, who opened the door to the wolves, can never be forgiven.

QUESTION: Is there any possibility that the Chinese people will fall into Wang Ching-wei's trap?

ANSWER: The Chinese people, whether Party members or not, have but one common aim, to carry on the War of Resistance without compromise in order to protect our national existence. The People's Political Council has made this amply clear in its circular telegram denouncing the traitor Wang. I am sure that no one with any national consciousness or any understanding of the Three Principles of the People, no one who realizes the importance of

racial preservation, will ever fall into Wang Ching-wei's trap. As for the other conscienceless traitors, they are of the same stripe as Wang Ching-wei. Birds of a feather always flock together. The only thing that the Japanese now fear is the will of the Chinese people to resist and their determination not to surrender. Wang Ching-wei, living under the protection of the enemy in Shanghai, is employing threats and blackmail to force other people to join in his conspiracy. If he should succeed, China would be ruled by traitors and the Chinese people would all be slaves of the enemy. If we look behind the scenes, we can see that Wang is simply a tool of the enemy. This shameful plot against our people is more contemptible even than military aggression. It is clear evidence that the Japanese seek to destroy not only our country but also our race. If our national spirit is destroyed, our great race with its 5000 years of history will gradually disappear. But I am confident that the more Wang Ching-wei carries on his nefarious designs, the stronger will be the purpose of our people not to yield. The plots of the enemy and his puppets show that their resources are being exhausted and they have absolutely no chance of success.

QUESTION: Since the outbreak of the European war, several countries have expressed their wish for an early conclusion of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Will Wang Ching-wei's so-called peace movement, initiated at this juncture, obtain any foreign support?

ANSWER: Foreign countries, with the exception of Japan, cannot afford to lose the goodwill of the Chinese people. The War of Resistance is a war of, and by, the Chinese people. Real peace will come only when China's aims have been attained. I feel confident that foreign countries will look upon Wang Ching-wei's defection with great contempt and that no one will take him seriously. Only the National Government of China has the right and authority to make peace or war. Any puppet organization willing to sell the country will never be recognized by the nations friendly toward China. Wang Ching-wei is an impostor, and no longer has any right to serve as the spokesman of the Kuomintang Party or of the Chinese Government.

QUESTION: But supposing that Wang Ching-wei's regime should be recognized by a foreign Power, what, in the Generalissimo's opinion, would China do about it?

ANSWER: The so-called Central Political Council sponsored by Wang Ching-wei and its resulting bogus regime is, as everybody knows, engineered by Japan. Therefore, I do not believe that any other country, with the exception of Japan, would be so ridiculous as to recognize it, for no foreign Power can afford to become the enemy of 450,000,000 Chinese. Take "Manchukuo" for example—it is true that both Germany and Italy have accorded official recognition to that puppet state, but what good has the recognition done? Turning to Japan, since the war she has created many puppet regimes; but what good have they done her? The Chinese people are now fully awakened and will fight to the end, no matter how unfavorably the international situation may become. We may take a leaf from the history of the Soviet revolution. At the beginning of the Soviet regime there were many anti-revolutionary elements and puppet groups—many of whom not only secured support but also official recognition from other foreign Powers. The Far Eastern Republic was a notorious case in which Japan was the instigator. Where is the Far Eastern Republic now? No nation will, I am sure, accord recognition to the bogus puppet governments in China. The Japanese may put up as many puppets as they like, but no other country will find the puppet shows pleasant or useful. The puppet regimes cannot do any permanent injury to our country. On the contrary, they will only strengthen our determination to resist and achieve final victory.

The People's War

A message to the Chinese people on the National Anniversary, October 10, 1939.

OCTOBER 10, 1939.

ON THE twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, I wish to say a few words to the Chinese people in general and to our brothers and sisters in the Japanese occupied areas in particular. China has already been engaged in war for two years and on this day of days we are bound to be reminded of the difficulties which the heroes of the Revolution experienced in the early days of the Republic. China has a bright future. I am confident that the Chinese people will do their best to drive out the enemy and to sweep away the traitors so that we may lay the foundations for a free and independent nation. During the past six months, Japan has tried to tighten her grip on China and the traitors have been intensifying their activities. Our recent victory in northern Hunan has brought great comfort and encouragement to us all. Our task is by no means finished, and I wish, therefore, on this glorious day of China's history to put forward for your consideration some of the things that have been uppermost in my mind.

First of all, we must realize that China is in a revolutionary stage, and our War of Resistance is really aimed at the fulfillment of the *San Min Chu I* (Three Principles of the People) and the completion of the Nationalist Revolution. Revolutions in the past have succeeded only after surmounting many obstacles; there is no short cut. However, once the forces of revolution are set into motion, they do not stop until they reach their goal. Once the national consciousness is awakened, no external force can suppress it. Considered from every angle, the Chinese Revolution is destined to succeed. We were much less favorably situated on the eve of the Revolution twenty-eight years ago than we are today. Yet in spite of all difficulties, under the leadership of our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, we overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and established a republican form of government. From this it is clear that the success of any revolu-

tionary attempt is entirely dependent upon conformity with the will of Heaven and the wishes of the people, and the spirit of the nation as a whole; and is not dependent upon material factors. We need not make light of the difficulties we are facing in this War of Resistance; in fact, it is beginning to look as if we shall meet with greater difficulties in the future. But when we observe the turn of international events in our favor and the improvement of our economic and military defenses, we can say that we have made a good start. We need now to strengthen our spirit of sacrifice and our determination to fight to the end, in order that we may be worthy of the sacred trust which the heroes and fathers of our Revolution have put into our hands in order that China may enjoy liberty and equality in the family of nations.

Secondly, we should all realize that the success or failure of the war will not be determined by our military strength alone but will also be dependent upon our will to fight. Militarily, we are confident that final victory will be ours, and this confidence is shared by all our soldiers at the front, who are doing their best to defend the country. From now on, besides our military operations, we must do our best to counteract the Japanese political and economic offensives. Above all, we must stir up the people and set them against the traitors in order to frustrate the enemy's political designs. Especially in the occupied areas, the Chinese people should firmly resolve not to co-operate with the Japanese but to put into practice the articles of the Citizen's Pact, to develop guerrilla warfare, and to destroy all Japanese enterprises such as mines, factories, commercial organizations, granaries, and munition depots. They should work hand in hand with the Chinese soldiers in the surrounding war areas to destroy Japanese-controlled railways, highways, telegraph and telephone lines, transportation facilities, and store-houses. In this way, the Japanese and their puppets will not enjoy any peace politically, and their economic enterprises will not succeed. This kind of work, of course, cannot be done entirely by the soldiers at the front. It must also be done by the Chinese masses in the occupied areas and areas adjacent thereto. This kind of work does not require much special training or any particular kind of weapons; it can be done by every one of us, and yet its results will be so great that it will become a death blow to the enemy.

In the third place, in order to succeed in this war we must exterminate all the traitors who have become instruments of Japanese aggression. The Japanese have now resorted to the method of making the Chinese fight against China; they have put many Chinese under arms and have forced them to fight against their own people. All this shows that the aim of the Japanese warlords is not only to overthrow our Government but also to destroy our race. They can do this, of course, only as they are helped by traitors, big and small. As a Chinese saying goes, "Nothing is sadder than the death of the heart." Chinese traitors have tried to sell not only themselves but also their families and country. Their hearts are dead and no punishment would be too severe for them. We must get rid of them all, and we must realize that to be a traitor is the most disgraceful thing on earth. We must determine to fight all traitors, though they may be our immediate relatives, for according to the Chinese tradition, we must sacrifice even our relatives in the interest of righteousness.

In conclusion, may I remind you of what I said two years ago today. I said then that the present war will be a long one and will not be finished in one or two years. I realized at that time, as I am fully aware now, that the outbreak of the war was merely the beginning of a long and difficult struggle. The war will not end until we have fulfilled our task of National Revolution and Reconstruction. For this reason, we must not be impatient, neither must we lose heart. We must be prepared to meet whatever difficulties may come in our way, and we must not vainly hope for an early cessation of hostilities or for any immediate change of heart on the part of Japanese militarists. We must realize too that unless China achieves final victory, there can be no lasting peace in the Orient, and not until we have driven the enemy from our soil will the Japanese people have a real awakening. If all the people of China, at the front and in the rear, soldiers and civilians, men and women, should assert their united will, bravely contribute their full share toward winning the war, and make whatever sacrifices they were called upon to make, then the final victory would be only a matter of time. We must neither accept the defeatist psychology of the traitors nor cherish any false hopes of early peace. As the saying goes, "It is easier to defeat the bandits in the mountains than to destroy the

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bandits in our hearts." The "bandits in our hearts" against which we must fight today are unwillingness to suffer hardships, desire for ease, and a spirit of defeatism before the struggle is won. Such bandits must be destroyed. Although the way of revolution is fraught with difficulties, yet we must keep marching forward. When we are defeated, we must not feel downhearted; when we are victorious, we must not become over-confident. Only thus can we hope to achieve final victory in our War of Resistance and success in our program of national reconstruction.

Japan's Dilemma

An address delivered on November 12, 1939, at the opening of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, in Chungking.

NOVEMBER 12, 1939.

WE HAVE met today, the birthday of our late Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, for the Sixth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee. Nine months have elapsed since the Fifth Plenary Session. During this period the enemy has intensified his political and economic as well as military offensives, and traitors within our country have become openly active. We have witnessed many realignments in the international situation. In September war actually broke out in Europe, but it is still too early to predict the outcome. All over the world peoples are deeply troubled over threats to national security and international peace. The past nine months have been a period of kaleidoscopic change in world affairs.

Our problem is much simpler. We are engaged in a war of self-defense with a fixed and clear-cut national policy. We meet change with one constant aim. We are concentrating all our thought and strength against one enemy—Japanese militarism. Though the task before us is difficult, yet we are calm and unafraid. If we had not risen up against Japan on July 7, 1937, our country would have been overwhelmed with difficulties. We should feel all the more grateful to the heroic soldiers and civilians who during the past two years and four months have laid down their lives in China's struggle for freedom.

During this session we must, of course, study the present situation, and at the same time, review our past activities and make plans for the future. We know that the responsibilities of our Party are increasing all the time. We have come to a turning point where success or failure will finally be decided. We must lead the nation forward until we win our independence and freedom, put the Three Principles into practice, and make our contribution toward a strong and lasting world peace. To do all this we must

have, as I said at the previous Plenary Session, "faith and determination that cannot possibly be shaken."

There are several things that we must see clearly. We must see China's responsibility toward the changing world. We must appreciate our growing strength in contrast to Japan's growing weakness. We must be confident that greater support will be forthcoming for our righteous cause. We must see through the enemy's rumor offensive and all his other stupid plots by which he hopes to sow among us seeds of dissension. We must hold strong convictions concerning our responsibility for the world of today and of the future. Finally, we must be ever alive to the great fact that the fate of China is inseparably bound up with the fate of the whole civilized world.

I need not give here an account of the military and political events of the past nine months, as these are fully dealt with in other reports. However, I do wish to remind you of our declaration at the Fifth Plenary Session that "if our nation refuses to be coerced or deceived and carries on the struggle without wavering, the defeat of our enemy will be a foregone conclusion." In my reports to the Third and Fourth Sessions of the People's Political Council, I said that the enemy was facing a steady decrease in manpower and that his difficulties in military operations would increase every day, while our military strength has more than doubled since pre-war days. This has been borne out by the campaigns in south Shansi and north Hupeh during the last few months, and particularly by the recent battle in north Hunan.

I visited the front not long ago, and I am in a position to inform you that our soldiers are not only confident of final victory, but eager and even impatient to recover lost territories. There is a noticeable improvement in military technique and in the thoroughness with which orders are executed. This is the principal reason why in north Hunan we were able to deal the enemy such a fatal blow.

During the past nine months the traitors to our cause have reached new depths of ignominy and wickedness. And yet the more the traitors tempt and threaten our people the stronger their spirit becomes. Not a single self-respecting person has been shaken in his loyalty. Our activities behind the enemy lines, the growing strength

of our guerrilla forces, the popular support of the Citizen's Pact, the growing co-operation between army and civilians, all go to prove that our people fully realize that we cannot co-operate with the enemy and that loyal citizens and traitors cannot live side by side.

The things I have seen and heard during my recent inspection tour cannot all be mentioned here. There were civilians fleeing with their families from the threatened areas who met the Chinese troops and turned back to serve as their guides against the enemy forces. Others voluntarily asked to join the colors. Many civilians who were wounded in actual combat refused to withdraw and fought on until they died. Without exception, these volunteers obeyed all orders given them. They were ready to make any sacrifices and undergo any hardships required of them if they were told it would be to the advantage of our War of Resistance. In co-operation between army and civilians we have progressed far beyond the first stage of the hostilities.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the longer the war goes on, the weaker the enemy becomes and the stronger we become. I am in a position to promise you that no matter how long and under what circumstances they have to fight, our troops will eventually be victorious. Defeat now is out of the question. For this reason the traitors are in a state of great agitation. They continue to submit all kinds of schemes to the enemy, hoping to take advantage of the critical world situation and "seize their loot while the house is burning." Of course they are working only for their selfish interests and not for the good of the nation.

The enemy knows that he cannot liquidate the war to his advantage by merely continuing his military aggression. He is now using other methods to avert military collapse and at the same time to reap profits from his invasion of China. His adoption of this new but fruitless policy coincided with the fall of the Hiranuma cabinet and the formation of the Abe cabinet, and was conditioned also by the outbreak of war in Europe. Of late this policy has assumed bewildering aspects. Today, at the opening meeting of this Plenary Session, I wish to say a few words about general tendencies in the Far East, the stupid schemes of the Japanese militarists, the relationship between China's War of Resistance and the future welfare of the world.

First, we must expose the stupidity and crudity of the Japanese militarists' designs, which are nothing but reflections of their own mental perturbation. Let us begin with the policies announced by the Abe cabinet immediately after its formation. The Abe cabinet was organized to deal with the diplomatic problems that arose following the sudden change in the world situation. Abe's announced policy is "not to take part in the European war but to devote all efforts toward the liquidation of the China Incident." The main emphasis of his cabinet's policy is to be upon "winding up the China Affair." He proposes: first, to establish a puppet central government in China; second, to appease all nations having an interest in the Far East so as to facilitate liquidation of the "China Incident"; and third, to strengthen Japan's trade machinery, to increase the nation's productive power, and to hasten the formulation of comprehensive economic plans for the "Japan-'Manchukuo'-China bloc."

These are the outlines of Abe's foreign policy, but they cannot conceal his inner anxiety especially since war has broken out in Europe. As in the first World War, Japan would like to be free to fish in troubled waters and do what she pleases in China. She would like to take advantage of war in Europe to develop her own industries and commerce, to strengthen her trade system, to relieve her economic anaemia and to free herself from the danger of immediate bankruptcy by squeezing wealth out of the West. Now, however, because of China's strong resistance Japan has to devote her entire attention and strength to the continent of Asia. Militarily Japan has been tied down by us. All her productive enterprises are at a standstill because of her campaign in China. Abe's mortification at the thought of all these lost opportunities must be acute. No wonder he wants to end the "China Affair"! Even though he knows that a traitor like Wang Ching-wei is not of the caliber to serve his purpose, yet Abe hurries to lend him support.

Notwithstanding all his fine talk about public opinion and national policy, Abe carries himself with a cringing and smirking demeanor. He tries both deception and outright extortion. He uses various methods in his treatment of the countries having interests in the Far East, hoping to win the goodwill of some and to alienate others from their friends, all with the objective of "settling the

China Incident first." But as the old adage goes, "Haste makes good choices difficult." Abe's actions are confused and contradictory. In his attempts to bring other nations to terms he tries both the mailed fist and the friendly hand-shake. He hopes to keep the Powers concerned from interfering, at least, with his announced plan.

On the positive side Abe plans to secure active co-operation from the other Powers in the "establishment of a new order in East Asia," and the "founding of a Japan-'Manchukuo'-China bloc." Abe overlooks the fact that the peoples of the world are not all as easily deceived as the people of Japan.

Judging from what he has been doing in the last two months, it is evident that he places great importance on diplomatic negotiations with the United States and Soviet Russia, while not unmindful of Germany, Great Britain and France. The Japanese try their best outwardly to please the United States, hoping thereby to make the latter compromise with them, but at the same time they are determined to tear in pieces the Nine-Power Treaty and destroy the Principle of the Open Door. Do you think the United States will put up with this? Isn't this the same as asking America to discard her traditional Far Eastern policy and to help Japan establish hegemony over the Pacific? The Japanese try to be friendly with Soviet Russia; but will Russia forget Japan's national policy, according to which Vladivostok is to be the starting point in Japan's plan to invade Siberia and the Sea of Japan is to become Japan's inland lake? Japan wants to monopolize Manchuria and Mongolia. Will Soviet Russia tolerate this? Would it not mean giving Japan the right of war in the Far East? Japan tries to cultivate Germany's friendship and at the same time presses Germany to carry out her obligations under the anti-Comintern pact. Can Germany now do this? In dealing with Great Britain and France, the Japanese began with coercion and insults, and this was followed by a period of relaxation and compromise. Japan wants Great Britain and France on her side, and yet persists in her policy of southward expansion at the expense of the Far Eastern possessions of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, whom she wishes to supplant. Will Great Britain and France allow themselves to be deceived this way?

If Abe really desires to settle the "China Incident," he should make a radical change in policy and throw the "New Order in East

Asia" overboard. However, his way of liquidating the affair is to give support to a generally detested traitor, to set up a puppet central government, and to demand that Inner Mongolia and North China be marked off as special areas. Not satisfied with insulting the Chinese people, he insults the intelligence of other nations by asking them to have dealings with the slave-puppet regimes which he has set up. He is simply trying to "satisfy his hunger with the picture of a cake." Does Japan think that all other countries are fools and that she has a monopoly of the world's wisdom? Japan is going up a blind alley. Such a settlement of the "China Incident" would mean simply the conquest of China. Likewise, Japan's talk of reconciliation with other nations is nothing but a scheme to banish them from East Asia. The Japanese are fooling themselves as much as anybody else, and they are bound to find themselves in greater difficulties as time goes on. If they were not in an abnormal mental state, we should be at a loss to explain their wild and senseless behavior.

For example, some people in Japan have been entertaining hopes of appeasing America first, while others have fancied that they could get Soviet Russia on their side. Hence, they resort to the most inconsistent tactics of friendship and coercion. However, they will fail no matter which country they decide to deal with first. In their attitude toward America the Japanese at one time reached the limit of sycophancy; but not long after Ambassador Grew's speech, instead of stopping their bombing of open Chinese cities, they arrogantly attacked a British airplane and machine-gunned the passengers of various nationalities without the slightest compunction. With such inconsistency between their words and deeds, who will believe them?

Another ridiculous thing—while seeking to enlist the support of Soviet Russia, the Japanese floated a lot of fantastic rumors, like speculators on the market, with the hope of involving Russia in trouble. A report which first appeared in the *Hochi Shimbun* on November 1 and was circulated by the Domei News Agency on November 8 alleged that, after the establishment of the "Wang Ching-wei government," Soviet Russia would extend recognition and would also seek understanding regarding the problem of Northwest China. Last week they went further by spreading rumors that

Soviet troops had already arrived in the Northwest. One report said that they had reached Pingliang in Kansu. The Japanese think that they can frighten and confuse the world at large and stir up ill-feeling between China and Soviet Russia, without realizing that such tricks are laughed at by all who are informed of the actual situation. On the one hand they spread the rumor that "Soviet Russia is prepared to accord *de facto* recognition to the new central government, and on the other they demand that their puppet, Wang Ching-wei, conclude an anti-Comintern pact with them! If the rumor-mongers themselves should ever have lucid moments, they would be utterly astonished at these absurdities. All these rumor offensives are a clear proof of the hopeless failure of Japan's campaign in China.

At the Fifth Plenary Session I said of Japan's political strategy, "Since the root is rotten, the tree and its branches cannot be sound." A year has gone since the Japanese started blowing their trumpets and beating their drums for the "New Order in East Asia." Because of this elemental mistake, they have met with failure not only in the diplomatic field but in the military and political fields as well. A normal person, once he has failed, will turn back. But the present Japanese Government is so dominated by narrow-minded militarists, that it will never take any lesson to heart and will never reform the error of its ways. The more it fails, the more it will blunder; the more it blunders, the more it will fail. During the last nine months, the enemy has rapidly advanced on the road to military, political, and diplomatic failure. He is destined to suffer a complete collapse.

In the second place, we must have faith in the soundness of our own national policy. In this connection, I would like to remind you of two fortunate circumstances. First, it is fortunate for us that the war in Europe broke out after we began our armed resistance. Second, it is fortunate for us that we began to resist as long as two years ago. Even though Japan would like to "grab loot while the house is on fire," she no longer possesses the necessary strength to disturb the whole world. The scope of the world conflict has at least been narrowed.

If we had failed to resist on July 7, 1937, and instead had waited until war broke out in Europe, the other nations would

not have been able to pay us any attention. Japan, continuing her aggression begun on September 18, 1931, and employing the military equipment she had been collecting for decades, could have done whatever she pleased in China. China would then have been faced with the danger of utter ruin.

Now, because of our struggle and sacrifices for more than two years, China has gained the experience and strength that come from prolonged warfare, whereas Japan, steadily weakening and nearing exhaustion, is sinking deeper into the quagmire. Although the flames of war have flared up in another part of the world, yet we have succeeded in holding Japan down here. No longer can she threaten other countries or run amuck in the world. We in China have only to concentrate our energies upon this one enemy with whom we have already been long at war. We do not find ourselves suddenly in a storm at sea with dread in our hearts of an unknown calamity that may befall us. Our people must realize that July 7, 1937 was a most appropriate time for us to commence resistance and that more than two years of struggle and sacrifice have brought us invaluable rewards.

Let us now review our fixed national policy since September 18, 1931. At the Fourth Session of the People's Political Council, I explained that our national policy was based on four principles: first, resisting Japanese aggression and defending our sovereignty and our territorial and administrative integrity; second, upholding the validity of international agreements, especially the Nine-Power Treaty, the League of Nations Covenant, and the Pact of Paris; third, refusing to join in any anti-Comintern agreement; and fourth, maintaining absolute independence in our diplomacy. We have been following these four principles faithfully during the last eight years. We shall continue to adhere to them in our struggle for China's independence, freedom, and equality with all other nations, and for a new State based upon the Three Principles of the People.

You know well that it is not easy to build up a nation in the world as it is today. Only because we have followed the teachings of our revolutionary Leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, have we been able to adopt a strong national policy and inspire our people to fight against the cruel power of Japan with their sweat and blood and

very lives. These same teachings have been our mainstay during more than two years of armed resistance. We do not now face the danger which some other nations face of being annihilated by military force. We are free from all diplomatic restrictions and secret commitments. Henceforth, our efforts should be directed toward but one end: so long as Japan does not awaken to her wrong-doing, we shall fight on against her. If we stand firm, Japan will never accomplish her aims, no matter how the international situation may develop, and the flames of aggression lighted by Japan will finally be extinguished by us. Only by our determination to fight to the finish, can we free other nations from the menace of Japanese militarism. China's resistance is for the good not only of China herself but of the Far East and of the whole world.

In the third place, while having faith in the friendly Powers, we must help to save the world by saving ourselves, thus making our contribution to world peace. The purpose of our resistance, as we have said from the beginning, has been not only to defend the independent existence of our nation but also to uphold international justice and to preserve world peace. The outbreak of war in Europe is a further proof of the soundness of our purpose. We trust that by the common efforts of all lovers of peace the European war may be brought to a satisfactory end and a reasonable solution of all outstanding problems may be found. By our resistance we are helping to remove the great obstacle to peace in the Far East and to punish the ringleader of international lawlessness and treaty-breaking. China will be an important factor in the reassertion of international justice and the restoration of world peace. Our war of resistance, begun against a ruthless invader, will end in the establishment of permanent world peace.

We must not fail in our hour of opportunity. We know that the stabilizing influence in the Far East will be a China that is independent, free, and living in harmony with other nations, not a Japan that ruthlessly seeks to banish other nations from the Far East and to become the sole overlord. The key to security in the Far East will be China's independence, sovereignty, and territorial and administrative integrity; and these will depend upon China's victory in her War of Resistance. There will be no tranquillity in the Far East so long as China does not attain her inde-

pendence. If China does not win this war, there will be no hope for world peace.

On the other hand, if China wins the war, the establishment of an independent Chinese government of, by, and for the people will not only guarantee peace in the Far East but will pave the way for a new and enlightened world order. We must appreciate our heavy responsibilities, and other nations must have a clear understanding of the issues involved.

A Chinese victory will be a blessing to the whole world, whereas a triumphant Japan would mean world disaster. The best evidence of this is found in the utterances of the Japanese themselves. Did not the Japanese militarists persistently say, "In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China"? But this was when the world was still at peace. Now that war has broken out in Europe, Japan will change her tune. She will try by all kinds of schemes to coerce the friendly Powers and to make them recognize her "New Order in East Asia." She would first overcome the spiritual opposition of the world so that she can proceed to conquer China. She does not know how much more difficult it will be for her to "settle the China Incident" than to disturb the world.

Again, Japan has repeatedly declared her intention of not interfering in the European war. Yet she interferes with the movements of nations now engaged in the European conflict, and discriminates against their treaty rights and interests in the Far East. Japan's interference is limited only by time and strength. She plans first to settle the "China Incident" and then to interfere with brutal force in the European war as a means of achieving world domination.

Dominated by the militarists and their narrow, superficial ideas, Japan has become inordinately ambitious and arrogant. She is in the gravest peril. Two years ago China rose up to resist Japanese aggression and to check Japan's ambitions. Today the civilized world needs China more than ever to help in maintaining peace and upholding justice. We must press on with renewed energy to the goals which we set before us at the beginning of our war.

The friendly Powers know well what Japan is doing. They see clearly her motives. Although they may not always agree upon other world problems, yet we are sure that they are of one mind regarding the Sino-Japanese problem. For the outcome of China's War of Resistance will profoundly affect the future rights and interests of all friendly Powers in the Far East.

Every nation thinks in terms of its own vital interests. That is why we are confident that no nation will sacrifice China in order to compromise with a nation whose foreign policy so definitely clashes with the interests of others. China, however, is not leaning upon other nations. She is simply remaining faithful to the cause of right and justice and collaborating with all friendly Powers to attain their common objective—world security.

For this reason we should not only trust friendly nations and have confidence in their understanding of the Far Eastern situation, but we should also adhere to our principle that "he who helps himself is helped by others." We must strengthen ourselves so that we may prove worthy of the friendship which various nations have shown us and capable of sharing the common responsibility for international justice and peace.

In the fourth place, we should realize that in setting up the puppet central government in China our enemy is taking the last step toward his own ruin. While we are naturally incensed at the unlawful behavior of the traitors, yet we also cannot but be amused by the stupid behavior of the enemy which has led him into a serious dilemma. He cannot make any further advances on the military front in China nor can he avert an economic collapse at home. Now that war has broken out in Europe, Japan's longing for an early end to the hostilities in China and her regret over past mistakes are more than ever apparent. However, nothing but a thorough-going change of heart will save her.

Since the Tokugawa-Meiji era Japan has been laying good foundations for a modern State. If she had had a clear understanding of the world situation and of the revolutionary strength inherent in China's Three Principles of the People, if she had not entertained aggressive designs on China, and had not violated international law, she would now see that China's independence and

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prosperity are the best safeguards of her own welfare. But if Japan ignores history and foolishly imagines that with 70,000,000 people she can conquer a nation with 5000 years of civilization, with an area of 4,000,000 square miles, and with a population of 450,000,000, then she is doomed to pitiful failure.

The wilder her ambitions grow the more exhausted she will become. The farther she ventures, the more mistakes she will make. She will end up by injuring not only others but also herself and by losing all that she has gained since the Meiji Restoration. I made this clear to the Japanese people in my message on July 7. But they will keep on the wrong road, I fear, until they destroy themselves.

Japan still cherishes the hope that the so-called "new central government" will be a short cut to peace in the Far East. She forgets that even with 2,000,000 soldiers upon our soil for two whole years she has not been able to beat us to our knees. Our national spirit has only soared the higher. Now Japan expects to force the Chinese people, with their keen sense of right and wrong, to submit to puppets, traitors, and public enemies of the nation. How ridiculous! Anything that insults our national character and injures our national honor will be resented and resisted by every man, woman, and child in China. All of Japan's scheming will only deepen the hatred of Japanese militarism in our hearts and in the hearts of our children.

At the Fifth Plenary Session, I spoke of Japan's military reverses, showing how Japan lost her initiative and freedom of movement after her invading army occupied North China and Nanking. By the time the Japanese entered the Wuhan area they had sunk so deep into the morass that they could not possibly extricate themselves. In their recent attack on Changsha they were pushed back by us. If they had taken Changsha, they would have been surrounded by us.

Politically, the Japanese have also reached an impasse. The formation of the two puppet regimes in Peiping and Nanking was as big a blunder as the military occupation of those two cities. Since these puppet regimes were set up, Japan's difficulties at home and abroad have increased manifold. Now by organizing a third puppet government, the Japanese are committing a strategic

blunder similar to that of occupying the Wuhan area. They are marching blindly toward defeat. But the arrogant and deluded Japanese militarists will not admit their errors. A third puppet government will appear, but its ill-starred birth will only herald the enemy's approaching doom.

A man who has missed his way often becomes hopelessly lost when he is looking for a way out. This is true of the Japanese army. Abroad, the Japanese militarists are engaged in ruthless aggression; at home, they force through the General Mobilization Act in order to manipulate the government, oppress the people, and exact from the country the last of its economic resources for a final desperate gamble. They are not only disregarding all laws and principles but are jeopardizing the whole future of their nation. Unless constitutional government is restored in Japan and Japanese troops are all withdrawn from Chinese territory, Japan cannot possibly liquidate the Sino-Japanese War no matter how much she wants to do so. All the achievements of the Japanese nation builders since the Meiji Restoration will be wiped out by the militarists. The Japanese people are now powerless. They can do nothing but watch the little coterie of senseless militarists dig their own graves. Japan's future is not only defeat but self-destruction.

As long as the Sino-Japanese War continues, no nation will compromise or come to an understanding with Japan. This being the case, Japan's dream of utilizing the European war to expand her own productive capacity and develop her industries and commerce will be as hopeless as "climbing a tree for fish."

Our enemy is headed toward military and political bankruptcy. It is just as certain that China will be victorious. Since the outcome of our resistance will affect the welfare of the whole world, let us strive harder than ever and make our nation strong and invincible.

During this important session let us examine carefully our past record and spur ourselves to greater effort. Let us be fearless in instituting Party reforms and in improving government administration. Only thus can we reap the fruits of the struggle which our armies have carried on during the past two years, and complete our program of national reconstruction. Only thus can we bring comfort to the departed spirit of our late Leader and to the souls of all those who have made the supreme sacrifice for our country.

Wang Ching-wei's Secret Agreement with Japan

A message to peoples of friendly Powers on January 23, 1940, following the publication of the secret agreement between Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese which was signed on December 30, 1939.

JANUARY 23, 1940.

ON THE twenty-second of this month the newspapers of Hong Kong published the text of a pact recently signed at Shanghai by Wang Ching-wei and representatives of Japan, entitled "Outline Governing the Readjustment of Relations Between China and Japan."* This document, bearing as it does the signature of a traitor, is in itself invalid and undeserving of a moment's attention. However, in so far as it exposes the sinister nature of Japanese foreign policy it does demand our careful study. I now wish to state my views upon it to the governments and peoples of all friendly Powers.

Japanese foreign policy is dominated by the conception of force to the exclusion of all considerations of principle. Ever since Japan reaped the rich benefits of successive wars against China, Russia, and Germany, her military leaders have become imbued with the idea that fighting is their most profitable business. The militarists have risen to a position of supreme influence in national life until, following the Mukden incident in 1931, they have become the unchallenged rulers of Japan. The fantastic dream of world domination set forth in the well-known Tanaka Memorial—conquest first of China, then of Manchuria and Mongolia, and finally the world—has now become under military rule the fundamental policy of the

* The text of the agreement was disclosed by Kao Tsung-wu and Tao Hsi-sheng, former associates of Wang Ching-wei, and was released to the press through the Central News Agency on January 22, 1940. On the following day Generalissimo Chiang issued this message to friendly nations and another to the armed forces and civilians of China, denouncing the secret agreement and reiterating China's policy to resist Japanese aggression to the end.

State. China knows only too well the madness of the Japanese military mind and is now resisting with all her might and regardless of cost, in order that this foremost disturber of world peace may be checked. We realize that only by resistance can we defend our own national existence, and prevent Japan from utilizing our resources and manpower in an attack on Annam, India, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, and other parts of Asia in order to achieve her ambition of world domination.

When Japan presented the "Twenty-one Demands" to the Peking Government in 1915, well-informed observers in Europe and America were alarmed, for they realized that Japan's attempt to destroy China, unless stopped, would seriously threaten the peace of the world. As a result of that anxiety came the Nine-Power Treaty, the definition of the principles of the "Open Door" and equal opportunity, and the agreement of all the signatories to respect the territorial integrity of China as a guarantee of peace in the Pacific. Only a short time elapsed, however, before Japan showed her old attitude and precipitated the incident of September 18, 1931, which led to the invasion of Manchuria. Nevertheless, a section of opinion in Europe and America still refused to believe that Japan would embark upon the wild scheme of conquest outlined in the Tanaka Memorial and even now imagines that the Japanese militarists, after two and a half years of futile warfare in China, are ready to reconsider their policy. We too wish that the Japanese militarists would suffer a change of heart, but we know that as yet there is no basis of fact for such a hope. Today we are confronted with this so-called "Outline Governing the Readjustment of Relations Between China and Japan," containing terms even more severe than could have been imagined at the time of the "Twenty-one Demands."

The Outline is a sort of agreement concluded between the Japanese and the puppet regime as a means of bringing all China's affairs, domestic and foreign—army, finances, trade, communications, education, development of natural resources—under the supervision and control of Japan. If put into effect it would mean the establishment of a Japanese protectorate over China in direct opposition to both the letter and the spirit of Nine-Power Treaty. That Treaty would be torn into shreds and a Japanese economic hegemony

over China would be established behind a definitely "closed door," with consequent destruction of the economic, industrial, and commercial rights of other nations. What would follow upon this swallowing of China does not admit of question. Indeed, if China had not risen to resist it is safe to say that the rest of Asia would not be enjoying its present security. Japan would be exploiting China's resources and manpower in order to carry out the next stage of conquest and to gain control of the whole Pacific area.

Since the invasion of Manchuria the other signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty have sent to Japan numerous strongly worded protests based upon the principles of the Treaty. Japan has shown contemptuous disregard for these protests and has continued to flout international morality and world opinion. Yet she now has the effrontery to talk of adjusting her relations with other Powers! What she really wants is to secure their recognition of her unilateral abrogation of the Nine-Power Treaty, and without any consideration for the legal rights of other nations to set up a so-called "New Order in East Asia." If any fuller proof of the duplicity of the Japanese militarists were needed it can now be found in the Wang Ching-wei agreement. This document gives us an unvarnished picture of real Japanese policy.

That Japan should propose a "new order" for a territory outside of her own, install herself as arbiter of all affairs in this territory, reject all considerations of reason and justice, and refuse to enter into frank negotiations with other Powers concerned, is all the evidence we need to prove how insincere are Japan's protestations of respect for the generally acknowledged rights of these Powers. The more Japan's policy changes, the more terrible it becomes. Japan not only tries to set up a puppet regime in China but also signs an agreement with it before it is actually organized in order to bring it into the economic bloc of Japan, "Manchukuo" and China. By this agreement Japan would control China's government, finances, military affairs, foreign relations, education and culture, to the exclusion of the interests of all other foreign Powers in China.

But this is not all. According to the pact North China and Mongolia would in military defense and economic development be linked strongly with Japan. Mongolia, ostensibly because of defense

against Communism, would be designated as a special area of political and military administration; while at strategic points in North China and Mongolia Japan would be permitted to station whatever garrisons she pleased. Then "China" would be obliged to conclude an "anti-Communist" military alliance with Japan. Again, Japan is given special privileges in the development and use of natural resources in North China and Mongolia and reserves the right to garrison and supervise all means of communication, all railways, airlines, postal services, waterways and harbors in this area. The "anti-Communist" pretext would allow Japan to station troops anywhere in China without any fixed date of withdrawal. Moreover, Japan could appoint whatever advisers she pleased to the delimited areas, to control anything and everything. "Anti-Communism" is nothing but an excuse; Japan's real aim is to gain control of China and hegemony over the Pacific region. Especially worthy of note is the fact that while Japan was concocting this irregular secret agreement with China, with all its monopolistic designs and anti-Communist trappings, she was at the same time asking the United States for a *modus vivendi* to replace the expiring commercial treaty and also extending the fishery agreement and carrying on boundary negotiations with the Soviet Union. What confidence can we still have in a government which is engaged in such obvious duplicity and vulgar trickery?

We also read in the agreement of "a strong Sino-Japanese economic union in the lower Yangtze Valley," "special areas along the coasts and on the islands of South China," "the right of Japan to station naval and other vessels at points on the Yangtze River and on the coast and island of South China," and so on. Again there is the stipulation that "China's commitments with third Powers shall in no way conflict with the principle of collaboration between Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China." All this would result in nothing less than complete Japanese control of China's foreign relations and domination over all China's internal affairs—our financial policy, economic development, commerce, taxation system, custom administration, communications and transportation. The particular mention of Shanghai, Amoy and Hainan Island as special areas clearly portends Japan's expansion beyond the continent and pressure on other Asiatic countries with rights in the Pacific area.

No Asiatic country would be free from the threat of Japanese aggression.

Japan's pretense at "readjusting" her relations with the United States, Great Britain, France, the U.S.S.R., and other countries with rights in the Pacific is a palpable fraud. Japan is simply trying to pull wool over the eyes of these governments and to keep them from adopting strong measures against her while she invades China. To this end she is also doing her best to block or break up co-operation among the different governments.

China has from the very beginning believed that her armed resistance, while aimed directly at the preservation of her own freedom, independence, and national existence, is also indirectly helping to protect the rights, interests, and future security of other countries in the Pacific Basin. We are fighting that our 450,000,000 people may escape slavery, and also that other countries may be freed from the necessity of defending their life and security by war with Japan. The enormous sacrifices that China is making need not here be described but they will certainly affect the future not only of China but of the whole world. Under such circumstances it is difficult to reconcile ourselves to a detached attitude on the part of friendly countries. This war cannot be regarded as an ordinary conflict between two rival nations. China is defending herself against a ruthless and unjustifiable aggression. There is no room for indifference or neutrality when a militarized nation goes mad and runs amuck over the world.

Japan now finds herself hopelessly bogged down in China. We are putting forth all the strength we have to defeat this enemy of all Pacific countries and to remove once for all this menace to the welfare of mankind. Now, if ever, is the time for action to be taken against Japan, for she is rapidly approaching exhaustion. Positive action now by other Powers will check Japan. If we delay there may come a time when no expenditure of blood and treasure will be sufficient to stop the ravages of Japanese militarism. The statesmen of the world cannot escape their responsibility to history, not only to protect the lawful rights and privileges of their own countries but also to keep civilization from being destroyed altogether. We look especially to those countries which have a stake in the Pacific, no matter what may be their views on European

problems, to act with one mind and purpose with relation to the Far Eastern conflict. They will all benefit alike from a free and independent China. Let them take an open stand and work together actively and effectively to stop Japanese aggression. Let them avoid irrelevant side-issues and collaborate in their fundamental policy with regard to the Far East.

We earnestly hope that those nations which, for the sake of commercial profits, have been furnishing Japan with war supplies, enabling her to invade China and bringing untold suffering upon innocent civilians, will speedily stop this death-dealing traffic, and will help to restore law and order in the Far East. We firmly believe that if friendly countries will help China and cut off war supplies from Japan, Japanese aggression will be quickly halted and the Japanese military leaders will have no alternative but to withdraw their armies from Chinese soil. The peace and security in Asia for which we yearn lies in the hands of friendly and wealthy nations which now furnish materials of war to Japan. My words, I trust, will not strike far-sighted statesmen and intelligent world opinion as being beyond the bounds of reason and propriety. They come from the deep conviction that our cause is one and that if we strive together we can re-establish justice and right in international life.

We Will Not Be Slaves

A message to the armed forces and civilians of China on January 23, 1940, following the exposure of Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan. The full text of the agreement and appended documents may be found in The China Weekly Review, Shanghai, February 3, 1940.

JANUARY 23, 1940.

ALL of our fellow-countrymen have now read or heard of the documents just published containing Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan: the so-called "Outline Governing Readjustment of Relations Between China and Japan," the conditions for the establishment of the new regime put forward by Wang, and the Japanese reply to Wang. These documents throw further light upon the damnable designs of the traitors and their Japanese overlords. We can now see the real import of all the clandestine goings and comings in the past few months, and the full extent of the nefarious business that has been transacted. We can now see behind the activities of the so-called "Asiatic Affairs Bureau," and understand the bargaining that has taken place between the pretender Wang and his alien masters. Before we saw these documents, we knew that Wang was capable of selling his country's birthright. Now we have ample evidence that he has already done so.

I ask you now, my fellow-countrymen, to study carefully the content of this secret agreement. If you will compare the agreement with Konoye's Statement in December, 1938, you will observe an extraordinary similarity. The present document is, in fact, a logical sequel to the Konoye Statement. In my renunciation* of that Statement I said, "Japan's real aim is the annexation of China and the ruin of the Chinese people." I described the Statement as a confession of Japanese conspiracy to seize and dominate all of East Asia as a first step toward world conquest. My words have been

* See the fourth speech in this section, pages 134 to 147.

fully borne out by recent developments. I gave warning of the razor blade concealed in Konoye's soft verbiage; now the cutting edge is fully revealed. This secret "Outline" reproduces almost word for word the provisions in Konoye's plan for a "New Order in East Asia." In fact, the enemy-puppet agreement is ten times more vicious than the Twenty-one Demands, and the scheme for subjugating China is far more ruthless than that employed in the conquest of Korea. No intelligent red-blooded citizen of China will fail to be outraged by every word in the secret pact.

Let us examine this Outline and its annexes. For a year now Wang has been trailing along behind the Japanese, and at the same time he has been sheepishly telling the world that he is doing nothing to the detriment of China's freedom and security. He has masqueraded as a high-minded supporter of "good neighborliness" "joint defense against Communism," and "economic collaboration," all for the benefit of China. These three favorite phrases demand explanation. "Good neighborliness" is simply another way of saying "annexation of China by Japan"; "joint defense against Communism" is equivalent to "perpetual garrisoning of Chinese territory"; and "economic collaboration" means nothing but "economic monopoly.". What Konoye called a "renovated China" would be simply an "enslaved China." The proposed "distributed reconstruction of China" would really be "distributed dismemberment of China." Most murderers kill their victims outright but Japan proposes to place China on the dissecting table and make her disembowel herself. I shall not analyze the secret document in detail but will summarize for you the most important points.

1. The "Fundamental Principles" in the agreement embrace a "union of good neighbors" in consonance with the idea of a new order in East Asia, and "full co-operation between Japan, China and 'Manchukuo.'". What is this but the old "indivisibility of Japan, China and 'Manchukuo'"? The establishment of an "East Asia bloc" would mark the end of China as an independent nation. Next there is the designation of special zones of military and economic influence in North China and Mongolia (in the original we read "Mongolia and Sinkiang"). What sort of independence could China have if we gave special status to certain parts of our territory for the convenience of Japan? In the Yangtze area there

would also be "zones of economic co-operation." How are these zones to be marked out? How could we keep them separate from other parts of Chinese territory and prevent complete coalescence? What distinction will there be between "theirs" and "ours"? Japan might as well take it all, to begin with. Again, "special areas" are to be established on the south coast and islands of China, from which China at any time may be blockaded and deprived of free contact with the outside world. These areas will also serve as a spring-board for Japan's southward expansion and a Japanese base in the event of war against America or European countries. All these points are part of the inviolable "Fundamental Principles Governing Readjustment of Sino-Japanese Relations."

2. From the principle of "good neighborliness" the agreement goes on to speak of "full co-operation" and "genuine collaboration." The word "co-operation" really means "interlocking"—the locking of the Chinese people and their descendants to eighteen hells of slavery! The word for "collaboration" is one newly created by the Japanese and really signifies an amorphous or undefined union. Wang Ching-wei says that the Konoye Statement presents a definite plan, but what the Japanese want is an indefinite relationship between Japan and China. One newspaper controlled by Wang Ching-wei had the face to say that economic co-operation has bounds and limits; yet here we see the Japanese talking of an amorphous sort of union. What is this but complete fusion? Nothing but the swallowing of China whole could produce such a result.

3. The puppet government must recognize "Manchukuo" before "Manchukuo" and Japan will respect China's sovereignty. China's territorial integrity is to be recognized by virtue of her recognizing a country carved out of her own territory! Is Japan making fun of us or insulting us?

4. Anything in Chinese propaganda, education, government administration, diplomacy, and commerce, anything that "jeopardizes the friendly relations between the three countries" may be suppressed at any time. In other words, everything in China is to be ordered to suit the convenience of the Japanese.

5. In relations with third Powers, no position must be taken that "conflicts with the fundamental principles of co-operation between the three countries." China's foreign policy is to be totally

subordinated to Japan's desires, leaving her not a vestige of autonomy. This is tantamount to making China a mere appendage of Japan. Moreover, advisers are to be sent to the "new central government" and into the "special zones of co-operation," where they are to supervise every detail of Chinese life and activity.

6. No effort will be spared to bring about cultural amalgamation, and the creation of a new culture suited to Japan's ideas, with consequent destruction of any independent culture in China.

7. "Concerted measures for defense" would include not only a "common front against Communism," but also "joint maintenance of internal peace and order." This last provision would amount to a pretext for garrisoning Japanese troops anywhere in China.

8. The article about "defense against Communism" is in the last analysis simply an excuse for garrisoning North China and Mongolia, and leads naturally to the "anti-Communist military alliance" which would permit Japanese naval and other vessels to use the Yangtze River and to lie off our coasts and islands. But since the Yangtze River and the coasts of South China are obviously too remote from Soviet Russia to be made a pretext, Japan talks about "joint maintenance of peace and order" in these regions. Not only so, but she "reserves the general right to take over and supervise railways, airports, postal services, principal harbors, and waterways in areas where Japanese troops are stationed." In these areas "only a minimum number of Chinese police and other armed forces may be temporarily stationed," whose military equipment is to be limited and who are themselves to be under Japanese advisers. What sort of "joint maintenance of peace and order" is this? It is complete Japanese supervision and control.

9. "Economic co-operation," so-called, begins with "reciprocity" and goes on to "economic union," and involves a Japanese grip upon all China's economy, even her financial policy, her system of taxation, and her customs service.

10. An agreement concerning "development of natural resources, and the administration of customs, commerce, aviation, communications, postal services, and meteorological surveys," is to be concluded to suit, of course, Japan's requirements and needs, not China's.

11. In North China and Mongolia China shall "accord special

facilities for the development of natural resources," and in other areas "China shall also accord necessary facilities to Japan for the development of special resources." Important lines of communication, including all airlines and North China railways, sea routes between China and Japan, coastal routes, waterways in the lower Yangtze valley, and postal services, would be controlled by Japan. Japan would simply take over all of China and so regulate the life of the Chinese people that all our freedom would be gone.

As if this were not comprehensive enough, the Japanese add a supplementary article, according to which the puppet government "shall maintain the closest relations with Japan in all important matters before the establishment of new Sino-Japanese relations." There are also detailed provisions for the adjustment of relations between the three puppet administrations of Peiping, Nanking, and Mongolia. What calls for particular attention is the designation of Amoy and of Hainan Island as special administrative areas. Japan's special position in Hainan is to be recognized, including Japan's right "to control aviation, communication, and sea navigation," and "to exploit and utilize natural resources of special importance to national defense." What nation's defense? What is this but the permanent rendition of Hainan to Japan? There are also other islands not specifically named, off the South China coast, which are to be treated in the same way. Japan is determined to stir up trouble in the Pacific and to employ resources derived from our soil and the flesh and blood of our people to carry out her own mad imperialistic adventures.

In a nutshell, this secret pact is many times as deadly as the Twenty-one Demands served on Yuan Shih-kai in 1915. Were it put into force, China would be enslaved forever and disaster would come upon the whole world. And yet, that conscienceless traitor, Wang Ching-wei, merrily signed his name on December 30 and gave his country away to Japan. Let me ask you, my fellow-countrymen, is this "peace" or is it selling out the country? Is this "readjustment of relations" or the beginning of national ruin? Is this the way to "secure the freedom and independence of China," or to make China a nation of slaves for generations to come?

What causes us even greater pain, revealing as it does the utter baseness to which Wang has descended, is the document en-

titled "What the Government Expects of Japan Prior to Its Establishment," embodying certain "indispensable conditions for the inauguration of the new government." The welfare and security of his people and the administrative and territorial integrity of his country mean absolutely nothing to Wang; according to this paper, all he cares for is a loan deposit of \$40,000,000 and the transfer of the consolidated taxes and salt revenues. What Wang asks from the enemy is: first, money; second, money; and third, money. Another request of his is the reopening of the Shanghai-Nanking section of the Yangtze River, and the right to issue passes for the Shanghai-Nanking Railway and to police and inspect the line. The reopening of the river he thinks will fool America, Great Britain, and other countries. The control of the railway will ensure his own personal safety in case of emergency, giving him an avenue of escape. First, Wang values his own life; second, his life; third, his life. With money in his pocket and his life secure, he can be a happy puppet. That is all he asks of Japan! And then he has the effrontery to talk of "changing the people's outlook and reforming their psychology." But the Japanese answer to his demand is, "Before this \$40,000,000 can be made available, the general principles for readjustment of new Sino-Japanese relations and other transitional measures must be definitely fixed and carried out." For the rest, the customs revenues are to remain deposited in the Yokohama Specie Bank, customs revenues collected in North China and Inner Mongolia are to be reserved, the reopening of the Yangtze River is refused outright, while the right to issue passes and to control policing and inspection on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway is postponed until a more favorable time. The fact is that the Japanese were ready to hand over the \$40,000,000 upon conclusion of the secret agreement, and that was why Wang, anxious for money and power, had to sign the Japanese terms *en bloc* on the thirtieth of last month. During November and December, when the bargaining was going on, Wang Ching-wei's press in Shanghai reflected the vacillation and agitation in the puppet camp; but finally all hesitancy was ended by the over-weaning selfish ambition of the arch-traitor. The whole despicable mentality of the puppets is so well illustrated by these documents that no further comments by me should be necessary. My only purpose is to awaken the

small number of innocent people who may still be deluded by Wang's honeyed talk.

The traitors and the Japanese militarists are bound so closely to each other that it is difficult to draw any line between them. One may say that the traitors are enticed by the enemy, or that the enemy is led on and encouraged by the traitors. All the changes of the Japanese Government during this past year, from Konoye to Hiranuma, from Hiranuma to Abe, and now from Abe to Yonai, have been due chiefly to army influence, and the present Japanese cabinet was ushered in by a declaration of aid for the "new central government in China." It assumed power with an appeal to the whole country "to strive unitedly for the establishment of the New Order in East Asia." The wide discrepancies of opinion in Japanese political circles and among the people of Japan are clearly revealed in these words. Japan undoubtedly still has many clear-headed individuals who realize that the army's wild plan of destroying another nation will result only in Japan's own destruction. No matter how hard the militarists try to deceive the government and the people, they are powerless to conceal the divisions in opinion and contradictions in policy that permeate the country. All are agreed, however, that a puppet central government will soon come into being. Several months ago I declared that its establishment was merely a matter of time, but I also added these words, "Let the Japanese create ten puppet regimes if they wish and give them any names that they like; to us they will be simply slave-governments under Japan and utterly useless; they cannot affect in the slightest degree the status of our real government." As soon as a man makes up his mind to betray his country, there is no limit to the injuries he is willing to inflict upon his fellow-countrymen for generations to come; therefore, we need not be surprised at the extreme conditions that Wang is ready to accept. For us, however, no task is more important than continued resistance to Japanese aggression. No chicanery or outside pressure of any kind can bring about China's downfall when the mass of the people are united in her defense.

Nevertheless, there is considerable significance in the revelation of Wang Ching-wei's treachery; for, had not two individuals in his group suddenly come to their senses and exposed the plot, both

Wang and the Japanese would undoubtedly have concealed much of the agreement, and Wang would still be receiving that section of the public which accepted his flowery phrases and clever talk. Now, however, the whole base transaction is fully exposed, with witnesses and documentary evidence of facts, dates, and other details. No longer can the Japanese or Wang himself find any way to disguise the sordid business or to becloud the judgment of observers upon the real issues. The Japanese public too is becoming aware of the weakness of the militarists which compels them to use puppets in their effort to end the war. I cannot but be concerned, however, about our fellow-countrymen in the "occupied areas," who are not only living under alien oppression but are also constantly subjected to the vicious influence of Japanese propaganda.

The exposure of the secret pact proves that Wang's whole "peace movement" is nothing but a movement to sell out China. It also shows that Konoye's "new order" aims at the complete subjugation of our country. If we do not resolutely resist and bring about the downfall of the enemy militarists, not only will China's existence be jeopardized but the fate of all Powers concerned in the Pacific will be imperiled. This should convince friendly nations that Japan's flattering policy toward the United States and Russia and her professed intention to "readjust relations with other Powers" really harbor boundless ambitions.

For the past year Wang Ching-wei has been making a lot of big talk to the effect that, "if there were no hope of peace, I too would lay down my life for my country; but if there is hope for peace on conditions not detrimental to China's freedom and independence, why should I not help to negotiate?" He has also stated that "all Japan wants is economic co-operation"; and again, "Japan approaches the problem with a magnanimous attitude, and so far from considering herself the victor, sympathizes with us because of the havoc wrought by the war." On other occasions he has said, "Japanese public opinion supports respect for China's territorial integrity"; and, more ludicrous still, "If Japan really intended to destroy China, she would proceed with all her might to do so—she would not waste time on words." There may have been some of our fellow-countrymen who lent a credulous ear to such talk, and were to some extent taken in by it. They can now see Wang's real mind laid bare before

their eyes. What Wang calls his "straightforward language" is nothing but lies. While he tearfully deplores the sufferings of the Chinese people, he is actually leading them into a bottomless abyss. Now we see the true nature of the "peace plans" which he says he discussed "in all frankness" with the Japanese, plans designed to further the ruin of China by Japan. You remember Wang Ching-wei's broadcast on July 9 of last year when he said that two belligerents must always make peace upon the cessation of war, that following the negotiation of peace there must be the withdrawal of troops, but that while military operations are still in progress there can be no mention of withdrawal!

Many a recent battle has showed the growing power of our resistance. Even Wang's Shanghai newspaper, the *Chung Hwa Jih Pao*, has been twisting the brave sacrifices of our fighting men to its own purposes in such statements as "Japan's desire for peace arises from her inability to defeat China," just when the Japanese were bringing all their pressure to bear on the puppets to sign the secret pact. There never has been any question of peace in the minds of the Japanese; nothing but outright capitulation will satisfy them. This is what "no withdrawal of troops" means. Wang's painfully concocted pact, on the other hand, will be absolutely null and void if all loyal Chinese refuse to be taken in by it. When Wang's masters were unwilling to hand over the \$40,000,000 loan, his newspaper waxed indignant and said there was no need to establish a "central government." All that we now need is a firm will in opposition to the contortions of the puppets, and the enemy will find that he has achieved nothing by his insincere and clumsy efforts at peace.

What will be the development of puppet and Japanese policy after the signing of the secret agreement is a question that suggests itself to many people, but I do not regard it as of much interest or importance. If we maintain our fixed policy, and continue resistance with all our might, we need have no fear of not dispelling the malevolent shadows that hang over us, or of not winning a glorious victory in the end.

Some time before Wang signed the secret agreement, his newspaper declared, "Total peace is impracticable; only local peace can lead to total peace." Then Wang himself sent out his circular telegram (of December 29, 1938) in which he wrote, "The most

pressing unsolved problem is whether we can bring the principles of peace to fruition or not," and "Whether or not concrete peace conditions can be obtained depends upon the development of the peace movement." Here he was partly trying to disguise his own intentions and partly keeping his masters on a string. Of course he has to keep his "peace movement" going! By "local peace" he means getting together all the traitors and gradually extending his peace movement to the whole country. He even expects to induce third Powers to recognize the peace he has made with Japan, and the puppet government of which he is the head. If such recognition is withheld, Wang will provoke incidents to force third Powers to make contact with his regime.

Wang's so-called "local peace" will begin at Japanese-occupied Nanking, from which city he will challenge the armed forces and civilians of China who refuse to be enslaved like himself. He hopes to add slowly to this little piece of China he has already sold, until Japan's lust for the whole is satisfied and "total peace" is achieved. He says, "We have nothing further to worry about." Well, he need not think that we are going to worry about him, after what he has done to his country. We will simply ignore his "government" and his "peace." No matter what name the puppets give themselves, they are only slaves, slaves with no personalities of their own. We will fight on until Japanese militarism is destroyed, and then all the parasites that live upon this militarism will perish also. Wang Ching-wei will go down in Chinese history an infamous traitor, like Ch'in Kwei, Liu Yu, or Chang Pang-ch'ang. As for us, we will only fight the harder to bring about his downfall and the downfall of his alien masters.

I see two possible courses ahead for the Japanese militarists. One is to make what use they can of the puppets while they mobilize all their remaining manpower for an intensive attack on us, making this attack a pretext for fresh requests of money and men from the Diet and a means of silencing public criticism at home. A second possible course is that, fearing uprisings at home if they try to raise more men and money, they may declare "an end of the affair" when the puppet central government is established, and make no further attempt to attack us but assume the defensive. They will thus appease anti-war sentiment at home, gain a breathing spell in which to re-

cuperate their strength, give support to the traitors, and then proceed to absorb China by means of the Chinese. But both roads are dead ends. We would still be free to counter-attack, since as long as there is a Japanese soldier in China we shall not cease fighting. Let the enemy mobilize the five remaining divisions at his disposal in Japan, at the risk of revolution at home, and stage another offensive in China. They will find us fully prepared.

During the last few weeks the enemy has been continually bringing up reinforcements on the Kwangsi and Kwangtung fronts. Let them come. We have tested the strength of all their crack divisions and even of the Imperial Guards, and we are not afraid. Three years ago the Japanese thought they could make us surrender without fighting. Today we will make the Japanese soldiers die without fighting. We have been observing the deterioration of their morale and the falling off of their fighting spirit. All they now rely upon is a slight superiority in war materials and weapons. But to be effective weapons must be wielded by men of fighting spirit. Japan's internal economy and diplomacy are both in the most hopeless state of confusion; the country is full of anti-war feeling, a reflection at home of the unfavorable military situation abroad. Speaking at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang a few weeks ago I described at length Japan's ruinous course and the serious dilemma which now confronts her. She is where she can neither advance nor retreat. Her complete collapse is not far off.

Since his latest adventure in South China the enemy has found himself still more at a loss. Apart from the direct blows we are constantly inflicting on him, he is exposed to a war of attrition which is constantly wearing him down. Look at the war area in Shansi. There the enemy has had to maintain a force of more than six divisions with continual reinforcements, and yet his position has changed hardly at all in two years. In the South China war area the enemy finds a mountainous terrain, difficult communications, and an unfavorable climate to which he is very poorly adapted. Nature there is fighting on our side. The more the enemy throws his strength into that area, the more quickly will he collapse. The Japanese could not have made a greater mistake than to invade Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and their capture of Nanning will prove,

WE WILL NOT BE SLAVES

I believe, a suicidal adventure. In the other war areas we will keep on fighting the enemy and also let him wear himself out and defeat his own cause.

I have again and again declared my confidence in our ultimate victory. This confidence is only strengthened by the Japan-Wang agreement. The secret pact will intensify the anger and disgust which our soldiers feel for the traitors. All our armed forces and civilians will see more clearly than ever that the only alternative to struggling on is the utter ruin of our nation. If we do not fight we will be sold as slaves. But we will not be slaves! We will wipe out this stain which the traitors have placed upon our national honor, we will preserve our national freedom, and we will win new glory for our country. The Japanese militarists are making a last show of energy, but they are only leading their own people to destruction and stirring up trouble throughout the world. Their sun is setting. The fate of East Asia will soon be decided. Our responsibility is grave; now that we are on the home stretch we must not falter or fail. Let us press on, my comrades, until we recover all our lost territory, wipe out our national disgrace, complete the task for which our brave soldiers have sacrificed their lives, and build the great China of our hopes and dreams.

III

China Fights and Builds

(1940-1941)

New Life in Wartime

An address broadcast to the nation on February 18, 1940, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the inauguration of the New Life Movement.

FEBRUARY 18, 1940.

TODAY is the sixth anniversary of the inauguration of the New Life Movement. It finds us in the fourth year of resistance and in a critical period of the struggle. When, six years ago, I first promoted the movement, my aims were to get everybody to realize the crisis in national affairs, to effect the revival of our established moral traditions, and to make the life of the nation accord with the needs of wartime, to the end that the stain upon our honor will be washed away and a future of prosperity and independence assured our people. After thirty-two months of sacrifice and effort, the foundation for final victory has been firmly laid. We are growing stronger as the war proceeds. However, more than a million enemy soldiers are still trampling the soil of our land and inflicting cruelties upon our fellow-countrymen. The weight of our responsibility for national reconstruction increases as time goes on; we must therefore be ever putting forth greater efforts in the struggle to fulfill the vast mission of Resistance and Rehabilitation. To commemorate this anniversary, let all of you reflect searchingly upon the past and advance along the road that lies ahead with bolder and more determined steps.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the movement I said in the broadcast address I then gave: "1939 must be a year of progress for the New Life Movement; everybody must order his or her life as the needs of wartime dictate, for the increase of the strength behind resistance and for the creation of a new future life for the nation." At the same time I went a little deeper than on any previous occasion into the significance of the movement's four moral criteria, propriety, justice, integrity and conscientiousness. "Propriety," I said, "must be conceived as implying rigid discipline;

justice, magnanimous sacrifice; integrity, thoroughgoing frugality; conscientiousness, resounding struggle." Since then, a year has rapidly passed by and in reviewing the record of what we have done we have to ask the question whether our citizens have or have not made progress in their ways of thought and life, whether our fellow-countrymen have thoroughly realized the requirements of wartime living. I am prepared frankly to state that people generally, and in particular public servants, have really not done their best to meet wartime responsibilities. Our lives are still insufficiently self-denying, our minds are too little aware of the urgency of the situation, our behavior too little orderly and restrained, our work lacking a high enough standard of accuracy and speed. Despite the fervent enthusiasm for the national cause to be found in all sections of society, there is still too wide a gap between actual living habits and the difficulties of wartime. Apart from a very small minority, our homes, government departments, schools and public institutions are rarely free from some loose, unclean or irresponsible doings. Unless these faults are eradicated, we shall continue to be unworthy of the men at the front and of all those who have given their lives for the country. Such unworthiness, in my view, is a great disgrace to the nation, and it means that the New Life Movement has not gained any sure effect. I have several points I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon you all.

The New Life Movement is a conception in no way remote from everyday life. It is entirely concerned with the general improvement of men's lives and the practice of our moral principles. It aims at the transformation of social customs and habits of mind. We have not only to rouse ourselves but also to rouse others to full consciousness of their duty, to stimulate both ourselves and others. Six years having passed since the inauguration of the movement, it is scarcely necessary for me to dwell here on its theories and program. I wish merely to call upon you to examine your own lives and ascertain how far they accord with New Life conceptions and with what I have called "wartime life." Even the minutest details require attention, and where faults are discovered they should be immediately rectified. Certain concrete measures should be decided upon for the guidance of society and the stimulation of our fellow-countrymen to positive exertion. Our own persons, our homes, and our contacts

with society should be so ordered as negatively not to conflict with the demands of wartime and positively to increase the power behind Resistance and Reconstruction. In simple terms, we must on the one hand make wartime life a reality and on the other exert our best efforts in wartime service. The Headquarters of the Movement has fixed upon five main points as the guiding lines of the work of the movement in its seventh year.

Firstly, to actualize Spiritual Mobilization. The five aims of this campaign which, since its inauguration last year has spread its influence throughout the land, are (1) the reform of living habits, (2) the stimulation of an optimistic spirit, (3) the eradication of evil tendencies, (4) the elimination of injurious plans, (5) the rectification of formless and disorderly ideology. These are all points bearing directly upon symptoms of national weakness. Another function of the campaign is the smashing of the enemy's subterranean designs and his activities in connection with traitors. This has already been clearly indicated in the Citizen's Pact and it is part of the fundamental work of resistance. We have to constrain not only ourselves but also our families and society to unanimous practice of these precepts. All must be called upon loyally to obey the wartime dictates of government and magnanimously to make whatever contribution to the national cause is required of them. Public and private life must be tightened up to a high pitch of real austerity and frugality.

Secondly, co-operation among all concerned in the various aspects of military service, including looking after wounded army men. We must do all we can to assist in perfecting the arrangements for military service. The "Friends of the Wounded" Movement demands our full support. To men who have so honorably discharged their duty in defense of country and people, we owe both spiritual and material forms of reward. The New Life Movement has already done much to bestir the social conscience to serve wounded men and numerous stations have been set up for the work. On the occasion of this anniversary a central station has been established, having set itself the object of enrolling one hundred thousand "friends of the wounded." I trust that all my listeners will respond by enthusiastically joining up. You will thus directly requite the merits of the wounded, and indirectly raise the fighting morale of the

men now at the front. The thorough working out of the system of conscription is a still more important part of national construction. It is for us to lend our assistance to publicity work, to explore all possibilities of seeing that able-bodied men of military age voluntarily enlist, and that each person in the family and society generally does his part in providing for the needs and comfort of men newly enrolled and their families.

Thirdly, co-operation in the task of opium-suppression, for the improvement of national health. The negative course to this end is the eradication of drugs; the positive consists in promoting physical culture. For the attainment of these purposes we have set up the Citizens' Anti-Drug Association and the Citizens' Physical Training Association. You will all be aware that this year the Six-Year Opium-Suppression Plan expires; it has not been affected or retarded by the war. The Government has repeatedly declared its intention to proceed with its plans to their appointed conclusion. At the same time it requires the wholehearted co-operation of the entire people in the work; only thus can rapidity and thoroughness be attained. I trust that wherever you may be, you will spontaneously encourage one another in observing vigilance and drawing upon the resources of society to supply the clinics with medicine, talent, and expenses, in order to emancipate addicts from their pitiable plight. Moreover it is necessary to awaken our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas to strive with the aid of one another's good counsel to shatter the enemy's drug dissemination campaign. The spreading of the physical training movement should also be unslackeningly sought in these days of national resistance. I hope that you will all take the molding of citizens' physique as a fundamental part of national rebirth. Hill-climbing, swimming, boxing and modern forms of exercise should, according to circumstances of time and place, be adopted by organizations and enthusiastically promoted, to the end that each individual may become a strong unit in a strong people and our foundation as a strong country be laid.

Fourthly, the stimulation of the national economy and the increase of wartime production. Our material supplies have been subject to obstruction since, as a consequence of resistance, our ports have been harried and blockaded by the enemy. Yet in practice this has afforded us an opportunity of re-creating the economic

life of the nation. Our attention is now most urgently required (1) to the use of consumers' co-operatives to adjust supply and demand and effect a lowering of the prices of necessities of life; (2) to the elimination of enemy goods by intensifying the movement for counter-blockade, the absolute cessation of the sale of raw materials and manufactured articles to the enemy, and absolute exclusion of Japanese goods from markets in our territory, in order to smash the enemy's schemes of economic aggression. (3) The increase of agricultural and industrial production. Apart from those taking part in work at the front or in labor corps, every man and woman in the land should choose some variety of productive work in agriculture, horticulture, road-building, transport, or hand-crafts, each individual putting all the energy he or she possesses into the activity chosen. All sorts of competitive methods should be instituted with a view to stimulating constant innovations and progress in all phases of wartime work. The Government has already established a thousand or more industrial co-operatives for the large-scale manufacture of all sorts of clothing and foodstuffs. These co-operatives are simple, convenient, very rapidly effective and not dependent upon large amounts of capital. I hope that they will be taken as models for wide development along this line, in order to make the means of productive power penetrate deeply into the countryside. (4) The stimulation of animal husbandry as one means of increasing transport facilities. It has always been the custom to supplement rural economy with cattle-rearing. The western regions of the rear are famous as natural cattle-raising areas. I hope that provincial governments and individuals generally will exert the utmost of their ability in encouraging poultry and pig raising and especially the breeding of mules and horses. To the economic value of such production there is added the contribution animals can make to wartime transport needs. (5) The awakening of our fellow-countrywomen and the advance of the women's movement. Half the population of the country are women and therefore in them reposes one-half of our natural strength. Since resistance began, our women, under the leadership of the Women's Guidance Committees, taking part in war-area service have already established a notable record of achievement. As many as 48 orphanages for the care of thousands of refugee children have now been established. There has also

been the foundation of Experimental Weaving Areas and Silkworm Breeding Areas, the organization of the New Life Movement's Women's Handicraft Institutes, and the setting up of Soldiers' Families' Factories. These enterprises have made a very substantial contribution to the increase of production, and are a phenomenon that may well give rise to much gratification. It is, however, strictly speaking, only a very small proportion of our womenfolk who are engaged in such work. We need the mobilization rather of a majority of them to fill up gaps in our national strength; in the family and in society we want them to take part in measures concerned with the improvement of the people's livelihood and the consolidation of the forces of resistance. During the present time we particularly desire to see greater fruits come of pushing the Women's New Life activities.

The five descriptions of work touched upon above have each of them direct bearing upon Resistance and Reconstruction. I trust that all my fellow-countrymen will display enthusiasm in the cause of saving at once themselves and their country by unanimously putting their best efforts into the carrying out of these projects.

I constantly pass in mental review the aims of the movement, which consist in raising the value and quality of human life and establishing its continuity with universal life. Our lives are just now led under the constraint of Japanese aggression and the history of our people has reached a turning point that will decide its survival or extinction. Only by intensifying our sense of the moral values can we break through the present stormy period. The final military victory in resistance is within reach but we must stretch forth our hands to grasp it, to overcome present difficulties and lay a new foundation for reconstruction. We must all make reforms start from our own lives, bringing ever fresh and stronger exertions to our work. May you all lift up your hearts to press forward to the completion of the mission this age has laid upon us.

The Educator's Mission in China Today

A message telegraphed to the principals of all universities, middle schools and primary schools on February 20, 1940, on the occasion of the conclusion of the winter vacations.

FEBRUARY 20, 1940.

FOR conveyance by the Ministry of Education to the principals and teaching staffs of all universities and schools:

The future of nation and race is bound up with the quality of the individual and the building up of a sound citizenry must depend upon the principals and teachers at the head of our educational institutions of every description. At the opening of the Third National Educational Conference last year I gave a very full account of my views on the matter. I said I looked to all concerned with education to practice the Three Principles of the People, to exalt our people's traditional morality, to esteem the teacher's calling, to emphasize tutorial instruction, to reinforce the national will to resist and cultivate the spirit of construction—all to the end of effecting a lasting enrichment of the nation's vital force.

I also made a point of telling you to regard the steeling of the national character as the fundamental duty of educationalists. I repeated my insistence upon the four cardinal virtues, and declared the Twelve Party Maxims* to be Maxims for Youth. At the same time the principals of all Szechwan institutions above the middle grade and personnel in training were summoned to a conference at which the participants were to strive to confirm in one another the revolutionary outlook on life and excite in one another the spirit of patriotism. A year has since made its rapid passage by; now the winter vacations are at an end and a new term is beginning. This is the time for all educational institutions to review their past work

* For the Twelve Maxims of the Kuomintang Code see footnote on page 100 above.

and fix their plans for the future. I particularly approach you educators to dwell once again on your responsibility for the guidance of pupils to progress in their thinking, in their conduct, and in everything that goes to form their physical and moral make-up.

The War of Resistance we are waging today is the most violent struggle for survival to take place in Chinese history; it is a unique turning point on which the nation's rise or decline must depend. The meaning of this war lies, on the one hand, in the withstanding of atrocious aggression for the preservation of our people's existence, and, on the other hand, in the creation during the various constraints and difficulties of war time of a richly vital modern nation—a nation with a future. With that achievement alone will our responsibilities have been fulfilled. In this connection my first words in addressing last year's educational conference were: "Our education must look as much to what will follow the war as to the war itself." Speaking of the present situation, only a today of concentrated will and awakened spirit will give us the opportunity for a future day of progress. We should take advantage of this critical moment to unify the nation and build up the citizen's way of thinking, to the end that the youths now studying in our schools may be destined, one and all, to pioneer that national future and undertake the vast work of rehabilitation which must follow the conclusion of the war.

Speaking, again, of the nation's practical needs, not only does the reconquest of our invaded soil demand of our countless citizens a lofty spirit of resolution, but also when resistance is over there will be an even more urgent necessity for all public and private energies to be bent upon economic and productive recovery and for courage and endurance equal to the extraordinary proportions of the task of reconstruction as it will then present itself. In brief, there is nothing we have to oppose to the enemy's aggression but a sound and valiant citizenry standing at the back of our self-sacrificing soldiers, giving them, and reassuring them of, support for their heroic efforts. And if it is not you educators there is none who can so bring up the younger generation as to fit it for the time to come.

Judging from the various manifestations of progress I have observed among our youth and the contrasting insubstantiality and faults of our education as it was ten or twenty years ago, I feel

bound to enjoin you with all possible earnestness to make the most of this historic time in the way you dedicate yourselves to perpetuating the glories of China's ageless past and opening the gate on a future of boundless prosperity. I hold that the disabilities of war time are to be taken as a matter of course; wherever cracks in our material, financial, political and social structure are discovered there can be no question of their being irreparable; above all else in importance is the steeling of the nation's moral fiber and the reward to be reaped from your efforts in this direction will prove beyond all else immense and lasting.

Passing in review all that the years of resistance have brought from devoted and courageous patriots with a deep sense of responsibility, at the front, and others equally self-denying and laborious in the rear, we have only to inquire a little into the lives of the persons most distinguished for their loyal conduct to discover they have benefited in their school days from invigorating contact with good teachers; and only by virtue of the sound basis given their character could they attain the undaunted spirit with which they have pitted themselves against overwhelming difficulties. Recently the enemy has shown himself exhausted by the state of deadlock in the field; the day of victory is nigh. In the matter of character-building you can and should take a long-range view of the future of national life. I deeply trust that you teachers will shoulder the responsibility of guiding your students' thinking, molding their personalities, ordering their lives, steeling their physique and reinforcing their characters. It is essential to realize that the acquisition of technical and scientific knowledge forms but a single part of education. If it is not allied to a spirit of love of country, people and fellow-men, and made an adjunct to the sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation and the completion of the revolution, to knowledge of the age and the state of world affairs, to a long-sighted view of issues, and to "sinews of brass and bones of iron," a frame equal to all hardships; unless an aspiring inclination to lasting effort is awakened, the acquisitions of the mind may run into any channel fortuitous circumstances present or to waste, and at all events will prove of no value to the nation.

I have devoted a life half spent in military service to the Revolu-

THE EDUCATOR'S MISSION IN CHINA TODAY

tion; but from the time of the opening of the Whampoa Academy* I have never lost contact with the educational life. I hold that schools owe it to their students to give them philosophic guidance, to eradicate from their minds idle and *laissez-aller* ways of thinking, and to make them all realize that the enterprise of revolution is the expression of China's will as it has lain latent in her for thousands of years. They must accordingly establish in themselves a faith in the Three Principles such that in life or death it shall remain unshaken. In regard to the forging of character, instruction must turn on the commonly prescribed school discipline and the Maxims of Youth, with a view to the cultivation of habits of virtue and responsibility and further bringing out the nation's established moral powers. Thus men may be produced who fulfill the primary duty of unselfish service of others, equal to mastering natural forces and creating a future in accordance with the highest meaning of human life. There must be the inculcation of frugality, of vigorous application, of the will to strive, of prudence and orderliness, of speed and thoroughness, of the strict preservation of discipline and obedience to orders. Men so educated need not be ashamed to take the name of citizens of a modern state.

Reading matter outside the scope of ordinary lessons, the direction of out-of-school activities, the importance to be attached to public morality and philanthropy, and the cultivation of habits of mutual assistance and co-operation, are all aspects of education for which constant attention, similar to that of parents' care for their children, is required, or indeed something of an intimate thoroughness even exceeding that degree. With teacher and pupil in contact from morning to night and sharing all in common there can scarcely fail to be a gradual molding of the pupil's mind by good influence.

The past ten to twenty years have left on our education traces of dissipated and selfish habits of mind such as young students should cast aside and consider the dregs of an age gone by. In all grades of our schools, a single student incapable of patriotism, observance of discipline, respect for teachers, and fellow-feeling for his companions, his headmaster and the teaching staff, should be considered

*China's foremost military academy, established at Whampoa, near Canton, in 1924 with General Chiang Kai-shek as its principal; now called the Central Military Academy.

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a burning shame to the latter themselves. On the one hand, I look to principals and teachers for conduct in line with what I have consistently enjoined upon them: the giving of a personal example as a way of influencing students toward the good and the production of genuine results to show. Although Chinese education is not universal, the students in our educational institutions of all kinds number not less than twenty millions, who, if so educated as to form a sound core of citizens devoted to Resistance and Reconstruction, would ensure a bright future for China. And when the Revolution has succeeded, the Chinese people will undoubtedly have a great contribution to make to world peace and prosperity. You will have firstly done your duty by your country and secondly by your pupils; you will have become strong factors in the creation of the national fortunes and molding of the course of world affairs, worthy of the enduring respect of posterity.

Your calling, for all its hardships, gives you the way to boundless achievement. I trust that you will give heed to my poor words, and make them a living part of your conduct, thereby earning the gratitude of your nation and people.

Citizens' Education

A message addressed to the Minister of Education, Mr. Chen Li-fu, on March 11, 1940, to be conveyed by him to the National Educational Conference held from March 11 to March 17.

MARCH 11, 1940.

THE calling together on this occasion by the Ministry of Education of provincial and municipal educational leaders and representatives of all related organizations to discuss problems connected with the advance of national education is a great enterprise in the course of Resistance and Reconstruction. The process of building up the fabric of national life is diversified by a huge variety of phases, but nothing is more elementary than the raising of every citizen's moral and physical well-being to the state of health he needs for the full discharge of his duties. When so much is attained the quality of national life can be improved and national strength increased. In short, national education is the foundation of all else in national life. The Central Government's promotion of free education has long been proceeding according to fixed plan. With the commencement of resistance, the details having been passed in review and account taken of the pressing nature of the need, it was felt still more keenly that basic education and adult supplementary education should be as far as possible combined to form a national education such as reconstruction necessitates.

Considering the close relationship between education and local autonomy it will be well if the functions of school headmaster and local chief officer be combined in the person of one man, so that there may be a concentration of talent and energy toward the rapid advance of the work. Last year the outline of provisions for the conduct of all grades of *hsien* organizations was published. It was laid down therein that there should be established one citizens' school for every *pao* and one central primary school for each

*hsiang-chen.** It was further provided that these educational institutions should be so designated as to fit into the basic political organization, and form a system wherein the *pao-chia* elders, the mayors, and headmasters form a triune system, the headmasters of the *pao* schools and the other teachers being also responsible administrators of basic political reconstruction.

The aims are: First, to elevate the social standing of educators and their responsibilities and to cause the efforts of educators to be devoted less to the lecture-hall and more to the field of practical social work in their particular localities. Secondly, to extend and broaden the efficacy of national education; to have the foundation laid by the education of the school built upon by the *pao-chia* recruiting parties, co-operative societies and such mass organizations so that it may develop into a lasting form of social education. The resulting progress in the general effectiveness of education would amount to a true completion of local autonomy. What the Central Government expects of national educators being no less than this, the responsibilities of local educators are proportionately heavier. This assembly was called by the Ministry of Education for the purpose of solving questions of funds and expenditure, the supply of teaching talent, and other practical steps toward the advance of the project.

I am well aware that all of you present will certainly be prepared to exchange with one another your experiences and report on the situation as you have seen it. All the organizations concerned must regard what you have to deliberate upon as a great essential part of reconstruction and give the fullest consideration to every point. I now have the following remarks under four heads to put before the leading educators and administrators of the country:

Firstly, I look to all to throw themselves with an intrepid spirit into the prosecution of the plans for citizens' education. The obstructions that arise in getting things started have ever been a leading cause of national backwardness in China. Today, in this time of crisis, there must be a concentration of all our resources for the

**Hsiang* is usually translated as "village," *chen* as "town." The difference is that the latter is urban in character. They are not separate administrative units. Ten *pao* constitute a village or town. The *hsien* assembly is composed of representatives elected by the villages and towns while representatives of the village or town assembly (or "meeting") are elected by the *pao*, which regularly comprises 10 families or *chia*.

breaking down of such obstructions, and those concerned with education may well take the lead. Of late there has undeniably been a universal shortage of the necessary money, but the funds now available must be thoroughly overhauled, distributed, and according to circumstances of time and place put to the best use. Resolutions formed at the beginning must be understood as absolutely to be put into effect, and the scale decided upon must be steadily attained step by step.

Secondly, I hope that there will be vigorous moves taken to get the best out of local respected and authoritative persons, in order that they may play their part. The advancement of learning and the cultivation of talent always draw the approval of the people; it will therefore certainly be a good plan for tours of exploration to be made through all provincial and *hsien* districts for the purpose of informing persons of influence regarding the measures proposed for the expansion of citizens' education. They should be made aware of the importance of education in relation to local well-being, and of the determination of the government to bring the plan to success, and their efforts thus directly or indirectly enlisted. The effect of their co-operation would certainly prove great.

Thirdly, I hope that much attention will be given to fostering teaching talent and effecting local supervision. This assembly must decide upon ways and means of achieving both these objects. Leading educational authorities must apply themselves personally to the matter of training teaching talent and enhancing the self-respect and sense of responsibility of educators by making them feel their work as a sacred duty. They need courage to face fatiguing duties in traveling about from *hsien* to *hsien*, or sending representatives to make regular inspections. If they are equipped with actual knowledge of local conditions they will be able to point out methods whereby local difficulties may be solved.

Fourthly, the competitive principle should be introduced and a strict check kept upon administrative efficiency. The level of achievement in national education involves not only the responsibilities of all ranks of educational authorities. It is actually also a part of the responsibilities of all ranks of administrators. It is therefore necessary to fix a standard and strictly to enforce it. Means must be sought to render its application universal. The

actual quality of work must be taken into consideration; only by checking results can evasions and approximations and habits of mere literal observance be detected and their reform effected. If the method of competition between *hsien* and *hsien* and between district and district be introduced and the results announced at definite intervals, it will act as a source of stimulation and reciprocal influence. All this depends for the great effect it should undoubtedly produce upon the vigorous and resolute action of our leading educators. In short, the realization of the Three Principles of the People and the completion of the revolution and reconstruction hinge upon the promotion of citizens' education. I profoundly hope that past discrepancies will be retrieved and rapid future progress begun. I enjoin all of you present at this assembly to exert yourselves in the cause.

Spiritual Ramparts and Weapons

*A broadcast speech delivered March 12, 1940,
on the occasion of the first anniversary of the in-
auguration of the Spiritual Mobilization Move-
ment.*

MARCH 12, 1940.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

TODAY is the fifteenth anniversary of our *Tsungli*'s death, and it is also the anniversary of the day on which last year I proclaimed the program of spiritual mobilization. I called upon all fellow-citizens and soldiers "to make of the practical application of that program a concrete form of commemoration for the day." I went on to exhort you all to thoroughness of thought and deed, not to take the occasion as a matter of course but as a turning point and the source of a new practical energy in setting about all that concerns the success of the national effort in war and reconstruction. Since the publication of the program precisely a year has passed, and during these twelve months, through all the hardships resistance has entailed and the violent perturbations of world affairs, the nation has stood firm and acted decisively, while the enemy has been driven from pillar to post to find a way out of his military embarrassments. His political maneuvers have come to nothing. The year has seen the foundation laid for ultimate victory, and Japan's defeat become virtually a foregone conclusion. The unflinching sacrifices of our fighting men, the contributions in money and services made by both those at home and abroad and the efforts of loyal citizens in the invaded areas have all served to this end. There have been feats of generous and courageous self-denial without number on the part of wounded men who have insisted on returning to the field, recruits who have eagerly joined the colors, and workers who have exerted themselves to the utmost in the interests of wartime production. Foreign observers are unanimous in the conclusion

they draw from what they have seen of China at war that she has unbreakable strength and will prove able to win victory. They affirm this because they hold that the Chinese people have awakened to the realities of their situation and that two and a half years of war have only hardened their resolve to fight on.

I must take advantage of this occasion to record my impression of the considerable good that has come of spiritual mobilization and congratulate my listeners upon the enthusiasm so many among you have shown in promoting the movement. What I wish you firmly to grasp, however, is the fact that spiritual mobilization is no mere matter of educational enlightenment, but involves practical steps on a universal scale. Its function is not limited to stimulating our minds and hearts with a view to victory in the present war, but extends to the creation of such a fresh and vigorous attitude of life as will contribute to the more rapid completion of the whole task of national rehabilitation. Therefore we must by no means rest content with the results so far achieved, but press on to the attainment of higher aims by the eradication of our former failings. You will all undoubtedly remember that there are three outstanding points in the program of the movement: 1. Thoroughness, 2. Perseverance, and 3. Endurance. If we now conscientiously review our doings, we shall perceive wherein we have failed to realize these three ideals and necessities. By thoroughness is meant absolute practicality in putting the program and Citizen's Pact into effect, complete and unreserved assent, without disproportionate attention to any particular point or aspect, or mere observance of the negative provisions to the exclusion of the positive. The second quality, perseverance, involves an unbroken constancy in our efforts. Transient bursts of energy, and work not carried through to a finish are equally undesirable. Our monthly People's Meetings, for instance, must not be limited in the enthusiasm they create merely to the days on which they are held or they will prove quite ineffective. Endurance, thirdly, implies close and undeviating application to duty. This is the time of total resistance, and wartime hardships multiply day by day. Those hardships, in fact, grow more formidable as we approach the hour of victory and success. If we are able only to withstand trials of a normal description, while the abnormal confound us; if we have not strength to endure great constraint and adversity, mere emo-

tional exaltation or excitement will contribute nothing toward the attainment of the ends of spiritual mobilization.

The indignation of the people is now at a high pitch and intelligent appreciation of the great issue at stake is widespread among them. Their faith in resistance is strong. But there are still very few men who can wholly avoid lapses in respect of one or other of the points I have mentioned above. According to my own close observation of the state of affairs, this is due to one great national fault which may be expressed in the phrase "lack of earnestness." I hold that the quality in the life of modern nations most deserving of our imitation is "earnestness." When they set themselves to examine a question they do so in all earnestness, and when they study they throw themselves realistically into their studies. For them work and service are realistic. At all times and in all circumstances, they devote their whole minds without reserve to the matter in hand. Their attitude is, therefore, always positive, and their achievements substantial. It was the same in the past with our people. Then there were the phrases "seek in the facts what reason requires; be ever pursuing greater accuracy" which express this spirit, but how do things stand with us now? We find it very easy to accept an ideal or tender a promise, but when it comes to practice we content ourselves with an approximation, we add one error to another. The habit of mind described by the ancients as "concentration upon the matter in hand" has come to be too rarely encountered in China. We must realize that during resistance each of us has his solemn duty, whether it is as a public servant, as one charged with responsibility in education and publicity, or as an ordinary citizen. How many of us, however, have "our hearts in our work," so that we can without deception or slackness, without artifices or gaps, proceed to grind away to the very end of what is required of us? No matter how good our means to our ends may be, no matter how courageous and enthusiastic a certain section of the army and the people may be, our mission will never reach complete success as long as faulty attitudes of mind continue to prevail so widely. What needed reform even in normal times requires it now in war time with far greater urgency. If in this crisis of the nation's fate we cannot develop a spirit of "earnestness," all our work will lack practicality and trustworthiness. We shall be treating matters

of life and death for the individual and for the nation as child's play. In this way the future of the nation and of the people will be acutely imperilled. I, therefore, on this anniversary call upon you to put forth a great effort to discipline and purge yourselves in the pursuit of "earnestness." Spiritual mobilization must henceforth set out from this point.

I think that "to exalt the real and expel the false," to develop a universal spirit of realism, should not prove an undertaking of excessive difficulty. We have simply to throw off the long-accumulated weight of a habit of highfalutin detachment from the real and to remove abstractions and generalities from our publicity and other work and plans. If all our work adheres strictly to the practical, it will be persevering, thorough and enduring. The result will be hard application and rapidity; our efforts will thus produce the greatest possible power. We must rouse the spirit of our people and to do that it is first necessary to prepare their minds. To spread the movement of spiritual mobilization we must first have all citizens who have sworn to the Citizen's Pact rigidly fulfilling the twelve simple articles of the oath. At the same time, to create new habits of mind it is first necessary to provide a new motive force. To achieve these great ends, we must first call upon our fellow-countrymen to set out from certain elementary and concrete proposals. I wish now to enumerate and explain under four heads the following matters which may form the present policy of spiritual mobilization.

Firstly: We must translate the program into concrete fact. There were five major points in the program as issued last year. We have now to fill in under those five heads simple and concrete measures whereby the meaning of spiritual mobilization may find expression in actual work. If, for example, we are to rectify the evils of the sodden senseless life led by some we must first utterly eradicate opium, drugs, gambling, and luxurious habits, advocate simplicity and frugality, and practice thrift and saving. We must develop a vigorous optimistic spirit of initiative, and that requires attention to orderliness and cleanliness, the promotion of physical training and public health, with a view to realizing the ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano* among our people. To destroy slothful and evasive habits we must keep a strict check upon efficiency in work, emphasizing reliability and speed. Faithlessness to duty must be

held the greatest disgrace and energetic service the highest honor. To break down the designs of self-interest, we must purge the country of corrupt and swindling practices and eradicate the vice of hoarding and cornering goods. To fulfill the ideal of "concentrated will and strength," and achieve the character of citizens of a modern nation we must correct confused and formless ways of thinking. We must realize the oath of "the nation first, the people first," promote obedience to law and discipline, keeping a close watch upon one another, and counseling one another, to the end that all citizens may recognize their responsibilities as citizens of a country at war, regarding wartime government orders as no less inviolable than military ones, and moving as one man toward the goal of "army and victory above all other considerations." When our fellow-countrymen have mastered these points we shall have answered the greater part of the demands spiritual mobilization makes upon us.

Secondly: We must intensify the economic struggle in order to smash one of the most important of the enemy's designs. At present the enemy's military strength is daily declining, and his political designs have encountered premature defeat. What he is still pressing forward with is his plan of economic exploitation, his various methods of economic spoliation and destruction, and still more his oppression and cheating of the people in the areas under his control. This is a matter that requires the particularly alert attention of you all. It is necessary for the whole country, man and woman, old and young, to stop the transport of goods of Japanese origin, detect the smugglers of such goods, and obstruct the sale of them.

I hope that my fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas will do their utmost to fulfill their obligations under the Citizen's Pact. For every fraction of it you fulfill the day of your liberation will be a day nearer. All of you must encourage one another under no matter what circumstances never to compromise with the enemy. In that pact, the phrases "I will not buy enemy goods, nor use enemy or puppet currency, nor sell goods to the enemy, nor labor for him" form one of the most formidable of weapons for dealing him a death-blow. Every match of enemy manufacture that is bought, every note of puppet currency that is accepted, is a contribution to the enemy's means of killing another fellow-countryman or of seizing another fragment of our territory. To act by the highest prin-

ciples in defiance of threats and force, with this thought in mind, will be your expression of the spirit of our people.

Thirdly: We must promote competitions as a means of stimulating production, and advancing reconstruction. With resistance at the point it is today, it is no longer wholly a military matter. It is now that true reconstruction must start. We must excite in ourselves a progressive and courageous spirit, key up the vigor of our people to the highest pitch, and heighten the efficiency of our work. In warfare, in administration, in education, or in training, in production or in reconstruction, no matter whether in the war areas or in the rear, in all places where the authority of the Central Government prevails, in *hsien* districts and in country villages, in organizations and in schools, in factories and in farms, working competitions should be held and standards and units fixed. The competitions will show who does most and best, who works quickly and who most dependably, who turns out products of the highest finish, and whose sell cheapest, who wastes least and who is frugal and simple in his life, who is cleanly and orderly, who best observes discipline, and who is readiest to lend his fellow a helping hand. Thus by an unceasing process of competition and research there will be created a common effort toward the removal of faults and mutual encouragement toward constant progress in the results of collective work. In this way not only will the strength of the national war effort be built up, but the country will also be rid of the impediment of lazy habits.

Fourthly: It is of great import to build up the Monthly Citizens' Meetings by getting everybody to attend them. It is necessary to spread the practice of holding these meetings, but it is still more necessary to put more reality into what is transacted at them. They should be made a means of improving the quality of national life in war time. At the same time they should be a means of training and organization for the masses, of rousing them to strive for the cause, to take an intelligent interest in social questions and to fight social evils. They should contribute to the formation of conceptions of self-government, and constitute a sort of mart for the interchange of ideas and plans for the promotion of productive enterprises. The Government must on the one hand press forward with reconstruction and on the other put the system of local administra-

tion into operation by consolidating local autonomy. We have, therefore, to make the Monthly Citizens' Meetings an integral part of the movement for local autonomy, and do all we can to encourage those present to report on matters of immediate local import, and to discuss questions connected with practical reform. We must make them an effective kind of function and not an empty form. Fellow-citizens who preside at these meetings must give their full minds to the means of getting the best out of them.

The points enumerated above are all founded upon the past year's experience and observations. I have stated them for your encouragement and stimulation, and for the guidance of your thought and action along practical lines of endeavor. I wish lastly to remark that the situation in our War of Resistance and in the world generally is now like a period of deeper darkness preceding the dawn. Victory is about to dawn before our eyes, but we must be ever more resolved and energetic, leaving no gaps for the intrusion of remissness or cracks in our armor of which the enemy may take advantage.

We must erect spiritual ramparts, sharpen our spiritual weapons, throw up firm barricades, fight to the death and sweat blood in the van of the forces of resistance. All that is of advantage to the enemy and of harm to the nation must be eliminated. Everything of advantage to the nation and instrumental to the work of resistance must be proportionately valued and striven for. It is a solemn thought to recall that fifteen years have passed since the death of our *Tsungli*, and the Revolution is still incomplete. The enemy is still upon our soil. On the one hand we may well be pained and ashamed at the thought of our shortcomings. On the other we may reflect with elation that his Three Principles have led us so far on the way to a glorious victory.

This is a movement for self-examination as to how much we have really done of our duty to our country, and how far our spirit and our life are from those that befit a country at war. I trust that all of you will reflect and act to correct every fault you become aware of, clearly grasping the issues of propriety and justice, sensible of the demands of honesty and self-respect, faithful to your responsibilities and obedient to discipline, striving to carry forward the noble mission bequeathed us by the *Tsungli* of winning freedom and equality for a revolutionary China.

Education in Uniform

A translation of the Central News Agency's text of a speech made on March 19, 1940, at a dinner given to delegates of the National Educational Conference.

MARCH 19, 1940.

THE educational principles of our country and those generally accepted in the world have one consistent spirit. My present views on education do not differ materially from those I expressed at the National Educational Conference held last year. The education of today, however, and especially basic citizens' education, requires the application of particular attention to a number of points. It would be well to revive the ancient Chinese methods of education comprised in the six words: rites, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and arithmetic, and, as it were, to put education into uniform. Education in China during the last twenty or thirty years has neglected any such principle, with the result that in mind and body there has been failure to reach a satisfactory standard. The poverty and ignorance general among our citizens have consequently exposed the country to the insults it has had to endure. In her case Japan has succeeded in absorbing ancient Chinese educational methods, so that the physique of her people is better than that of ours. Resistance has given us an excellent opportunity of shaking off the environment of the coastal and riverside cities and moving into the heart of the land. This should naturally induce us to return to those ancient educational methods and put education on a warlike footing. If those in responsible and subordinate positions in the field of education cannot take advantage of this opportunity in order to correct their past mistakes, and make education effective, they will prove guilty of a crime against their people.

It is essential that schools henceforth should teach their pupils, quite apart from science, the nature of right conduct, and relate education closely to everyday life. Tseng Kuo-fan put his concep-

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tion of education into the eight words: sacrifice (to ancestors), social intercourse, early (to rise), sweeping, calligraphy, vegetable (gardening), fish (rearing), and pig (rearing). These words embrace all aspects of everyday life. They demand the exertions of present-day pupils along the lines they indicate, and in so far as objective conditions permit. They must learn to value and respect animal and plant life, not being permitted to maltreat animals or destroy plants and trees. Instruction to this effect should find a place in the textbooks of education in citizenship, in order that pupils' kindness to one another and their feeling for inanimate things may be cultivated aright.

In short, education in the past has been harmful. The education of today, if it fails to bring its instruction to bear upon the everyday life of pupils and train them in a curriculum such as is covered by the eight words I have mentioned, will render all concerned in it responsible for a virtual crime against the nation. What I have said today I intend as a little addition to my previous speech.* Now I raise this glass of wine to wish you all good health.

* For text see page 388.

The Responsibilities of Modern Journalists

A message read by Mr. Tai Chi-tao, President of the Examination Yuan, to fifty-two graduates in journalism of the Central Political Academy at a graduation ceremony, March 22, 1940.

MARCH 22, 1940.

DURING the last four or five years Chinese journalism has made very considerable progress—progress that has been only the more marked since the beginning of the present War of Resistance. One outstanding feature has been the widening of the scope of journalists' activities. The modern journalist is acquainted, not only with editing work, but also with the business side of his profession. In the content of our newspapers there is a constantly increasing proportion of substantial reporting and detailed news dispatches to the almost entire exclusion of meaningless social gossip. Technically, there is to be observed conquest of material difficulties, the utilization of inferior and simple equipment, and increase in the volume and rapidity of production. The spirit of service in the profession is meanwhile rendering its members able to endure privations and simplicity in their way of living and giving them the courage to face dangers in the course of their duties.

The work of journalists in the past was confined to the editing room, and the sphere of their activity limited in great part to the clubs, institutions and societies of the large cities. The journalist of today goes out into the countryside of the interior, to the war areas and to the front. In the past a newspaperman was attached to circumstances of ease and comfort; now he seeks the atmosphere of vigor and action. There is a tremendous contrast between the slack and heterogeneous attitudes of journalists in the past and their anxiety today to express the spirit of the age, their regard for the future of the nation, their support of the national policy and their respect for the law.

This progress in journalism is providing a factor in the progress

of the nation and people. It is one of the most encouraging phenomena of the war. Dr. Sun Yat-sen once said that publicity is education. This means that the journalist is an organ of speech for the expression of the nation's will; he is a teacher upon whom the people depend for their enlightenment. For fifty years the course of National Revolution from its inception and throughout its development has been closely bound up with the world of journalism. The vicissitudes of its history have been modified by the standard of intelligence and energy displayed by journalists. Where their efforts have chimed with national policy the revolution has made rapid strides, while where the contrary has been the case its development has been obstructed and delayed. At this time of concentrated national effort in the cause of resistance, the responsibilities of our journalists in the struggle are scarcely less important than those of men fighting and dying in battle.

How the national policy is to be made generally known, public opinion unified, and the wills of all stimulated to unanimous advance toward the goal of national revival, the destruction of the enemy and the rehabilitation of the country according to the Three Principles of the People—all this is contingent upon the positive enthusiasm shown by journalists. I wish to describe in the following paragraphs the nature of the objectives toward which I conceive they should be striving.

One: The fulfillment of their responsibility for widespread publicity. The quantity of newsmatter distributed in China is far behind that of other countries of the world. The areas served are too much limited to the towns and lines of communication. With the beginning of resistance there began a gradual improvement in this respect. The tendency of the future must certainly be a constant broadening of the field for local newspapers. The production of newspapers in the interior has ever been a matter of difficulty, and if only for that reason it is an enterprising calling for pioneering efforts on the part of journalists, they must plunge into that environment which is no less remarkable for the hope it holds for the future than for the difficulties it presents, and sow there the seeds of culture, to the end of raising the level of popular knowledge and intelligence. It is an ideal we have set ourselves to have for every five or three *hsien* a local newspaper on a satisfactorily complete

scale. One need not seek a high finish in printing, but substantial content capable of making up for the deficiencies of social education and acting as a source of local progress.

Two: The fulfillment of journalists' responsibility for making the national policy generally known and understood. In both the editorial and news columns of newspapers the aim should be to stimulate our people's sense of independence and self-respect, to foster in them a progressive spirit, and to urge their accurate observance of the "Outlines of National Reconstruction," never forgetful of the supremacy of the interests of nation and people. In the analysis of the international situation provided, correct emphasis should be as much a consideration as detail, and everything should be related to the interests of China as a center. Only thus will the reader be made aware of the realities and be benefited. In the exposition of important government decrees, the pointing out of essentials is of greater moment than the mere reproduction of texts; the underlying principles must be explained so that by a full understanding of the law and intelligent talk among themselves the people may come more readily to observe it.

Three: The fulfillment of journalists' responsibility for advancing reconstruction. I hold that China has now entered into a new period wherein real reconstruction is just beginning. The mission of the newspaper is, therefore, also entering into a new phase of its importance. In the past politics formed the main burden of its contents: today emphasis should be shifted to economics and production. In the past government offices and institutions chiefly furnished the newspaper with its material; today the sources should be the rural districts, factories, co-operative societies, and productive organizations generally. The pages of our newspapers should now be filled with practical information regarding economic reconstruction rather than with generalities of no especial concern to the people. There should be discussion of methods of improving production. Such a nation as is our ideal is one wherein production, national strength and the people's livelihood progress in unison. All the newspapers of the country should therefore be working in that direction, leading their readers toward that end.

Four: The fulfillment of the journalist's responsibility for raising popular morale. This is the day of Resistance and Reconstruction.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF MODERN JOURNALISTS

The people have to be led into the right way, to tread the road of loyalty to the nation and the cause; the traitorous have to be extirpated and patriotic feeling set at the highest valuation. On the one hand, examples of heroic and devoted conduct among the people in the war areas should be extolled to the full. On the other, all light and frivolous writing, all retrograde and aimless habits of mind should be swept away. We must be awake to the fact that seriousness is not just another name for dryness. It is for journalists to find the right ways of rousing their readers' interest in serious subjects. This is highly important as a part of their work in educating the masses.

The above is some description of the mission journalists of today must fulfill, and the direction in which their efforts must be exerted. By passing through this period of hard trial, China will become capable of rising to the status of a great and progressive nation. Not only are we ourselves confident of this but the world too knows that it is so. For more than ten years yet, however, we shall have to strive toward that great end. The active and ever fresh exertions of journalists are required to broaden and accelerate their work of national leadership. Let them with one mind and one purpose bear the nation's destiny forward to its appointed goal: then the people will respond with a like concentration of will and strength in moving toward that goal. To achieve this it will be necessary to keep the newspaper field supplied with fresh talent and new technical ideas. Its duties are incomparably momentous. My desire is that all of you new graduates in journalism should throw yourselves wholeheartedly into the fulfillment of those duties.

No Relaxation of Our Efforts

An opening address to the Fifth Session of the People's Political Council, April 1, 1940.

APRIL 1, 1940.

VICE-PRESIDENT CHANG AND ALL MY FELLOW-COUNCILORS:

TODAY we open the fifth full session of this Council. The number of those present is strikingly greater than on previous occasions. This time many who in the past for reasons of distance or health could not attend have spared themselves no fatigue in hastening to take part. The enthusiasm and liveliness to be seen here today reflects the unanimous will of the whole country to shoulder its burdens. It is inspiring and refreshing in the extreme. In the period of recess which is now at an end, moreover, my fellow-councilors' work has fully displayed our resolution to hold ourselves responsible for the work of Resistance and Reconstruction. Our Szechwan-Sikang Reconstruction Commission has set up five agencies, and many individual members have been constantly going out to make tours of inspection and report their observations to the Government as a basis for progressive action on its part. Our Constitutional Planning Commission has held several meetings for the close study of various constitutional problems. We have organized a party to travel in North China for the purpose of inspecting and encouraging the troops. It made its way throughout Shensi, Honan, Shansi, and Hopei, conveying to the army and the people its assurances of the Council's sympathy and respect. Some of our members have also taken part in the Inspection Party sent out by the National Military Council to observe the discipline and behavior of the army in the field. That party went to the front and made its contribution to the putting of greater order into military discipline and externals. Respect is due to all of you who, regardless of hardship, difficulty and danger, took part in these forms of work and successfully accomplished your ends.

It is now precisely six months since the Fourth Session of the

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Council was held and meanwhile the international situation has become tense as a result of the European conflict, while with us resistance has entered a graver stage. By striving onward, however, both at the front and in the rear, with a firm grasp on our established national policy, we have considerably strengthened the foundation of resistance and have achieved primary results in reconstruction. At this session I wish first to outline what have been the main military, diplomatic, and political features of the last six months.

Let me first speak of military affairs. At the time of the closing of the last full session, I said: "The present fighting strength of China not only exceeds that of last year, but is actually superior to that at the beginning of the War of Resistance two years ago." Reviewing the events of the six months past, I can say that the military strength we are now employing in resistance is sounder than during the previous six months. In all technical matters and in those of organization, progress has been made. The foundation for victory has by now been thoroughly laid. During these six months all the enemy's moves in northern Hunan, in northern Kwangtung, in southern Kwangsi, in northern Hupeh, in southern Shansi, in western Suiyuan have been without exception frustrated by our forces. Recently, the counter-attack on Wuyuan and the recovery of Lingshan and Funan on the Kwangsi front have further demonstrated the debilitated state of the enemy's resources and strength. His defeats in northern Hunan and northern Kwangtung have shown that his offensives no longer have any chance of success. Our recovery of Kunlunkuan has shown how much he may suffer in unsuccessful efforts to hold positions he has already taken. During the last three months the enemy has lost an aggregate of 230,000 men. From now on he has only a further irretrievable decline to contemplate, attended by repeated mortal blows from our forces until he is cut up in detail over the vast expanse of our territory and his armies at last become a total ruin.

Second: In regard to diplomacy, we have been pursuing during these six months a course which I described at our last Session as one of "meeting kaleidoscopic changes with an unchanging attitude"—holding firm to an established policy and following it out consistently. The moment may be one of complication and gravity in the face of international affairs, but our position is quite simple and

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clear-cut. Those nations of the world friendly to us and clearly aware of the facts of our situation express unanimous sympathy with us. Although war has broken out in Europe, many countries there and on the American continent have been giving us moral and material assistance rather increasingly than otherwise during the past half-year. The United States loan of \$20,000,000 has been a great encouragement.

At the time the Russo-Finnish conflict broke out, it seemed that international relations were about to become still more complicated. Now peace has been made between these two countries, the scale of the war in Europe has been reduced, relations between the Soviet Union and Britain, America and France, it seems, may soon very possibly grow closer. I believe that Soviet Russia, with all the peace-loving countries of the world, will henceforth undoubtedly stand on a common ground of upholding international justice and seeking to carry out its peace policy by restoring peace in the world and in Eastern Asia.

Third: Speaking of political affairs, detailed accounts of the administrative work done during the last six months will be given you in separate reports presented by the various ministries and commissions. What I have now to explain to you all is the aim upon which our administrative plans and measures have been centered during the period under review. Apart from noteworthy achievements made in the suppression of opium and gambling, the eradication of banditry, the relief of acute distress, the improvement of public health and the promotion of physical training, on the positive side of our work the emphasis has been upon internal administration and economic affairs.

(1) Regarding internal administration, special attention has been paid to the building up of local autonomy and the strengthening of the basic political organs in order to establish a foundation for constitutional government. In September of last year the Government issued some "Essential Rules for All Grades of *Hsien* Administration." On the one hand, provisions were made for the training of personnel for local autonomous governments and on the other hand, practical provisions were made for the collection of necessary funds. It was decided to put all this into practice from the present year. This is of course an arduous undertaking, but it is one into

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which we must put the utmost determination and energy in order to consolidate the forces of resistance. To see to it that the people have real training in the exercise of their four political powers (election, recall, initiative and referendum), that they are organized, that conscription is made more fully effective, that the resources of local strength are built up, that instruction in citizenship is rendered universal, it is absolutely necessary to put this system into operation. I trust that all of you will do your best to work together toward this end.

(2) On the economic side, special attention must be paid to the development of economic reconstruction and the building up of financial and monetary power. In economic reconstruction, industrial, mining and agricultural production must be increased. In industry and mining, apart from positive application of the plans decided upon, a further plan for widening the scope of development in those fields has just been defined, funds allotted, and a limited period of time fixed for its fulfillment. At the same time it is felt that the consolidation of wartime resources and the commodities of daily necessity to the people must proceed from the development of agriculture. Therefore, measures taken henceforth will be directed to the full development of agricultural economy, and the advance of rural production. The creation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was aimed at providing an organization whose sole business is with the problems of agriculture, forestry, and land reclamation work. In future, positive progress must be made on the basis of this policy. It is to be hoped that the building up of the national economy and the reduction of unnecessary burdens on the people will proceed alongside the exploration of all possibilities of benefiting our laboring citizenry.

In respect of matters of finance and currency I have to make particular mention of the setting up of a Joint Office for the Four Government Banks. The fact that the basis of national finance has been steadily growing firmer during the past two years and the nation has been able to meet the demands made upon its financial resources is in great part due to the completeness and effectiveness of the groundwork done in pre-war days. Now to tighten up economic reconstruction we have further to concentrate the strength of our financial machinery and utilize it in pressing forward with

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our whole economic policy. Since the establishment of the Joint Office of the Four Banks it has contributed much to the building and spreading of a currency network, to the stabilization of the basis of foreign exchange transactions, to the absorption of capital in productive enterprise, and to the making available of credit loans. The Four Banks have set up a record of striking achievement during the past six months, and now they must steadily add to what they have done in order to accelerate our economic reconstruction by the acquisition of financial strength.

I have just passed in review the main features of the military, diplomatic, and political scene during the past six months. Let us now look at the enemy's situation. I have already touched on the exhaustion of his military strength. I need not dwell further upon it. The state of internal political and economic life in Japan is such that the country is on the verge of collapse. Economically speaking, the budget has swelled to the figure of 16,000,000,000 Yen; loans can no longer be raised; paper money is being recklessly printed; agricultural labor is growing ever scarcer; coal and electricity shortage is obstructing industry; discontent is rife among the people; the foundations of society are shaken; numerous conflagrations have done great damage and other disasters due to natural and human causes have taken place. In politics, the army has its violent, ungoverned way. Yonai has succeeded Abe; Saito has been deprived of his seat in the Diet; wild scenes were enacted in the 75th Session of the Diet. All this has shown that a few irresponsible army men are controlling everything. A second example of such a dark and turbulent state of internal political affairs could not be found in all the world. The reflection of it in Japanese foreign policy is even more confused and contradictory. The one clear intention behind it is to stir up trouble in Eastern Asia by a process the Japanese have the audacity to call "establishing a new order in East Asia." Fully intending likewise to drive out other nations' legitimate rights from the Far East, they try to deceive themselves and others by calling it "co-operation." The fact is that they see in the European war a chance of taking some unfair advantage of the Powers by striking at them one by one. The perfidy of the motives behind Japanese foreign policy is manifest to all.

Let us take one or two examples. Lately, the Japanese have

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been offering a pretense of opposing Soviet Russia as a bait for America and the European Powers, but the latter did not swallow it. Then they tried to threaten those Powers with a pretense of seeking a rapprochement with Russia, the only result being to incur the contempt of the Soviet Union and utter failure to coerce the European countries or America. Now Japan is again seeking to use the anti-Comintern disguise as a means of currying favor with those countries. This sort of childish floundering naturally excites the lively contempt of the Powers. Toward America, for instance, Japan first adopted a menacing and stern demeanor and then, America being unmoved, turned to promises of compensation for damage done to American property and future respect for American interests in China. Again America was unmoved. The abrogation of the commercial treaty with Japan, the moral embargo, and other steps were taken. Japanese emissaries have been sent out in all directions with some design of persuading a combination of Central and Southern American nations to bring pressure to bear on the United States. Any such pressure would, needless to say, amount to nothing. American public opinion and determination to check Japan has only grown stronger, and feeling against Japan more bitter. In fact, three years of war with us have weakened Japan to a degree that is perfectly well-known to other nations. Her militarists, however, still propose to bully the world with overbearing language. This is bluff that reveals only their own extreme folly. They will bring only ruin upon themselves in this way. The two instances I have given serve to show how Japanese foreign policy is, in the words I used the year before last, a case of "the thing being wrong at the root, no health is to be found in any of its ramifications." It is a matter of course for it to be frustrated at every turn and eventually to end in catastrophe.

Precisely because the enemy is everywhere on the way to ruin in the military, political, economic, and diplomatic fields, he has thought, as a solution to his dilemma, of putting up Wang Ching-wei to form a puppet government in Nanking, and accordingly, on March 30 Wang mounted the stage. He is the center of a collection of shameless rogues who do not hesitate to accept slavery and treachery as their lot. They have made themselves never-to-be-forgotten criminals of the Chinese people and a great blot upon the record of

resistance. The law must punish them and the people indict them, but it is not to be supposed they can produce the slightest effect upon resistance in the long run. I long ago said: "Let the enemy manufacture dozens of puppet regimes, and whatever name may be attached to them we shall never recognize them for anything but slaves of Japan. Nothing they do in their internal or external affairs can have any validity whatever or have any ill effect whatever on our Party and nation." The nation has loaded this foul spectacle with abuse; these traitors have long ceased to own the right to call themselves Chinese. They will also fail to deceive any country in the world that is now our friend. This action of the Japanese militarists is doubtless intended as a piece of conjuring for use in dealing with other nations, and toward the people at home as a means of disguising the fact of defeat and palming this off as a substitute for the real successes that are not forthcoming.

For the Japanese trick of clothing this puppet government with all the phraseology of the genuine Kuomintang and Republican Government of China, the motive is to be found in their desire to make this step a means to realizing the dreams of the so-called "Secret Treaty with Wang,"* the "New Order in East Asia" and "Readjustment of Relations between Japan and China." Everybody knows that Wang's appearance will be but a passing dream. In fact, this is the destiny of the Wang puppet regime. This being the case, his installation at Nanking is a crowning touch to the utter unreality of all the illusions cherished by the Japanese aggressors; it is the knell of their dreams rung by themselves. Japan herself will go into the same grave that is now gaping for Wang. By putting up Wang, the Japanese have made the admission that all their efforts have not sufficed to conquer China, that they are faced by a crisis they know to be hopeless for them. So they have recourse to this weak gamble in an attempt to use a *fait accompli* as an instrument for the extraction of still heavier taxes from their people and still more of the lives of their youths for the satisfaction of their

*The secret agreement between Wang Ching-wei and the Japanese, signed on December 30, 1939, and entitled, "Outline Governing the Readjustment of Relations Between China and Japan," provided for Japan's domination of China in terms which Generalissimo Chiang characterized as even more severe than the Twenty-one Demands. The text of the puppet agreement was disclosed by two former associates of Wang and was made public on January 22, 1940. See page 358.

ambitions. In fact, however, the result has been increased dissatisfaction and unrest, for this step can appear in the eyes of the Japanese people only as a confession of defeat. It is certain to arouse greater bitterness and disillusionment than ever. As for its international effects, Wang's debut is an indication to the world of the incorrigibility of the Japanese militarists. Nobody is to be again taken in by a trick they have already used in Korea and Siberia. This is a last desperate move on their part and it will prove one of the most important in accelerating the collapse of Japan. I have often said: "The Japanese militarists can do nothing but what is harmful to their own country, never by any chance something beneficial to it." The present appearance of this puppet government is yet another strong proof of this.

For our part, simply because the enemy is on his way to ruin, we must put especial vigor into our resistance at this time. We have already decided upon a second Three-Year-Plan for resistance. You must all realize that this plan is at the same time a positive plan for reconstruction. More than ordinary energy, effort, and willingness to accept responsibility in common are called for to build up our political, economic, and military strength. It must be realized that the very fact of the enemy's present hopeless predicament is due only to the struggle we have put up during the two years and nine months just passed. Now that he has offered the whole Chinese people this insult in bringing out Wang Ching-wei, the eyes of the world are turned upon us, not to observe how we deal with this traitor and his crime, for the world knows his utter worthlessness. The U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, made a statement on March 31, 1940, which displayed his sense of international justice. He spoke as a representative of world opinion. What the world is interested to see is how the Chinese people deal with those who are behind the pitiful little puppet show—the Japanese militarists themselves. We must now be doubly eager to give of our very best, bringing to bear the heroic revolutionary spirit of resistance to remove this outrageous stain upon our national honor. Our answer to this attempt of the Japanese and their puppets to save their fortunes, annihilate our people and call it by the shameless phrase of "restoring peace" is to put forth all our strength to attack and strike back at them, swearing to drive the enemy from our soil,

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and create a real and lasting peace in Eastern Asia. To their attempt to use the "Secret Treaty between Japan and Wang" in order to effect a so-called "Readjustment of Relations between the Two Countries" as a device for the annexation of all China, our answer must be to wrest from him the independence, existence, and freedom of our nation. They on their side propose "to build a New Order in East Asia." We on ours must throw the whole strength of our people into the struggle, producing facts wherewith to smash the Japanese ambition of monopolizing East Asia. Until the final defeat of the invader is accomplished, resistance can never cease. We must restore the territorial and administrative integrity of our land, and remove from the world this source of harm and danger to its welfare, demonstrate the splendor of the Three Principles of the People, and cleanse our soil of the poisonous miasma now lying over the occupied areas. Such is the resolve we must set before ourselves today; and it is also the duty we have to fulfill in the cause of world peace.

We can by no means permit ourselves to relax our own efforts because of the exhaustion of the enemy, nor stop pressing him because he is powerless to advance further. Our victory is assured us on condition that we do not cease our efforts but render them more and more vigorous. The greater the exhaustion of the enemy, the more we should be roused; the nearer he is to his end, the more we should ask of ourselves. Since the war began we have made it our plan to prosecute resistance and reconstruction simultaneously. Resistance is our immediate task, while reconstruction is our ultimate goal. Now the international situation is uniformly advantageous to our resistance, and the enemy himself by seeking his own destruction as he has, has done the best he could for our reconstruction. The traitors' puppet-show has reached its culminating point. The basis of our final victory has been strengthened by this event. This is a moment, therefore, from the standpoint of the situation, for us to concentrate all our minds and wills on the work of resistance; from another standpoint, it is the moment for us to give our best positive efforts to reconstruction. We must exert ourselves not only in military matters, but devote efforts at least as determined to matters political, economic, and those generally connected with reconstruction. We are trying to expedite the establishment of the

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ideal of local autonomy, to build up the basic political framework of national life, to develop the Southwest and the Northwest; we have decided to summon a People's Congress, to bring out a Constitutional Code, to establish the foundation for democratic rule, to have the whole nation, high and low, respecting the national laws, rigidly observing discipline and following out the program of Resistance and Reconstruction. Why are we doing all this? In order to increase the power of resistance, and also to complete the great enterprise of reconstruction.

I wish to tell all of you present at this session of the Council that while in the first stage of resistance the military aspect of the struggle was perhaps all-important, now after two years and nine months the foundation for military victory has been soundly laid, and we have in the future to think not solely in military terms of ultimate victory. It is rather the quality of our work in political and economic reconstruction that will decide the future of resistance. From this moment we must positively concentrate and consolidate our spiritual and material resources. Thus political, economic and social reconstruction will be able to develop rapidly. The establishment of our People's Political Council took place nearly two years ago. Though the Council is held for a certain appointed period of time, we councilors have a duty that knows no bounds. So, far from our duties being near completion, it may be said that the far-reaching and weighty nature of our work is only beginning to appear. I trust that all present here on this occasion will show the utmost sincerity of which they are capable in contributing the best they can toward the success of the gathering. First, there will be a full review of the central items in the administrative measures I have just reported on. Views must be offered as to anything conducive to rapid advance of local autonomy, economy, and reconstruction.

Also, I request you to pay attention to the following three points: First, the Program of Resistance and Reconstruction published two years ago was accepted by this Council as a creed subscribed to by the whole country. We must all examine how much we have achieved of what it requires of us, whether in regard to the Government, to the locality, or to society, or even to various public bodies or individuals. We must ask ourselves if we have faithfully practiced it with sincerity and devotion to the public good. Second: The Szech-

wan-Sikang Reconstruction Commission is an important practical piece of work. I desire an examination of what this Commission has actually achieved toward the actualization of the plans for reconstruction in the two provinces as the base of resistance and a model for all reconstruction. Third: With regard to the laying of a foundation for the Constitution, there must be detailed discussions and practical contributions. We must not limit our attention to the adoption of a constitution; we must proceed to put it into practice. We do not want pretty phrases, but a practicable code, and one that would prove advantageous to resistance and still more so to the future good of the country. Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote in 1921 a book of *Plans for National Defense*, containing sixty sections, the sixth of which appears in the index under the title "National Defense and the Constitution." This work he unhappily left unfinished, but his obvious purpose may give us much food for thought. In the matter of a constitution for China we need more than to follow out the Three Principles of the People and the division of the Government into five branches. We have also to consider it in relation to national defense. Without sound national defense there can be no foundation for a constitutional country. The code we are now seeking must emphasize national defense, and it will then prove the framework of a sound and permanent national order.

Fellow-councilors, the entire nation has striven together for two years and nine months. Our army and people have provided such a foundation of heroic sacrifice as our victory may easily be built upon. It is a foundation we have all to cherish and reinforce. This session of the Council is held at a peculiar moment in the contortions of the enemy and his puppets. We must exhort our fellow-citizens from now on to exert unprecedented efforts and deal them a heavy blow. It is unthinkable that so advantageous a situation should be let slip by when success is almost within reach. I hope that all will throw into the work all their vitality to aid the Government in giving leadership to society in building up national strength. Our wills and strength being concentrated, a fresh step in political and military progress may be made and economic reconstruction pushed ahead, so that at last the responsibility lying on the shoulders of the whole people may be fulfilled by the discharge of our historic mission of Resistance and Reconstruction.

Prototype of China's Democratic Institutions

Closing address to the Fifth Session of the People's Political Council, April 10, 1940.

APRIL 10, 1940.

THE Fifth Session of this Council comes to an end today. For ten days by day and by night members have been unsparing of their efforts; the Government has withheld nothing from them in the reports it has presented, and in their examination and criticism of the Government's measures members have exhausted the resources of their knowledge and intelligence in making suggestions and expressing their views. There has been collaboration to the full without thought of anything but the public and national good. One may safely say that the session has been richer in spirit and more fruitful in achievement than any one of the previous four. Its proposals and resolutions, moreover, have all been of an eminently practical nature and entirely free from the vague and unrealizable. This is progress and matter for gratification and inspiration to all war-afflicted citizens and the army and people generally. This Council is composed of the élite of the country's leadership and talent: it indeed represents the mind of the nation. With each session it has passed from strength to strength, just as our armies have grown in power with the progress of the war. The Government will undoubtedly embrace the Council's critical observations and proposals and act on them with all thoroughness, while it is hoped of you that you will all use your influence with the public to see your resolutions carried into effect.

It is nearly two years since the People's Political Council was established. The nation has benefited very substantially from its services in many ways. Firstly, it has been an actual demonstration of solidarity; in it the nation has seen a concrete expression of its single-minded devotion to the cause and the concentration of its will and purpose, of its capacity for unity of action and the unreserved sharing of the hardships of the time, and an unqualified confidence of government in people and people in government. Secondly, the Council has confirmed the truly national character of the policy of

resistance. At each session it has solemnly expressed absolute adherence to that policy, giving the nation a clear view of its war aims and impressing upon the world a proper estimate of the consistency and stability of the national policy through all the changes and difficulties of the course of resistance. Thirdly, the Council is a prototype of future Chinese democratic institutions.

Such were the functions I expected the Council to fulfill when it first assembled, and during the two years that have passed since then my hopes of it have been realized, we have entirely rid ourselves of the defects of past deliberate assemblies, and complete openness and public-spirited sincerity now distinguish the deliberations of the Council. Members have shown themselves emancipated from all petty vanity of their own conceptions—so great a vice of the aristocracy of Sung and Ming times, when cliques and coteries were prepared to sacrifice the nation's interests in the pursuit of their own aggrandizement, dissipating their energies in internecine strife. A complete contrast to this state of things is to be seen in the present assembly. Appeal to the national interest and the necessities of resistance never fails to bring about a rational solution to the differing views of individuals and minorities. This is striking evidence of the progress made by China as a modern nation. I am confident that this progress, if maintained at the level reached in recent years, will raise China to a high place among the nations of the world.

I feel it an immense honor to come before you today as the President of this Council charged with the duty of reviewing its achievements, for I believe them the adumbration of a glorious future before the nation. The numerous resolutions passed by this session may be brought under three main heads; the first being those concerned with the denunciation and exposure of enemy and traitors' designs; the second being with regard to economic development; and the third on the subject of the nation's advance in constitutional method and practice. The Government must attach the highest importance to measures in all three of these categories and the whole country is deeply concerned with all questions falling within their scope. I propose now to arrange my remarks under these three heads.

First: as to an adequate understanding of the plans of the enemy

and his puppets. On the second day of this session the Council issued a circular telegram unanimously approved by all in which it recorded its condemnation of the traitor Wang Ching-wei and his administration. This was a stern manifestation of the mind of the whole nation on the point. The telegram summed up and exposed the whole despicable essence of the traitors' conduct in the words "capitulation called national salvation, and national ruin called peace." "What country on earth could make the loss of nationhood an end of its constitutional system?" was a question embodying the firm resolution of all Chinese persons of worth and intelligence, and its sense bears closely on the future of resistance.

To speak in terms of Chinese history, every time that the country has been faced with a great peril the most important consideration has ever proved to be the unequivocal demonstration of the rights and wrongs of the case, and the drawing of a clear line between the plausible and the true. Regardless of national degeneracy and the gravest of threats from without the point we first look to is the clear and distinct comprehension of the issue. When disaster has occurred it has been due not only to the vain quarreling of the aristocrats and their forsaking the public good for their private interest or to their poverty of moral fiber but also to a general obscurity of moral perceptions in society, the confusion of black and white, right and wrong, and the deadening of men's hearts leading to their unconscious descent to ruin. I invite you all to refer to the history of the Sung Dynasty [960-1276] and there you will see that at the time the Kin troops crossed the Yellow River on their way south it was said: "The southern court has not a man to its name." Reading this expression even at the present day we cannot but feel indignation and shame to think that there must have been at least a population of one hundred millions, though we have no accurate census figures of the time. When the Tartars used this phrase they meant that the nation's standard of upright conduct had fallen low and it had grown careless of moral values; the traitors Chang Pang-ch'ang and Ch'in Ku'ei were intent on capitulation and peace and had no thought of resistance and the preservation of nationhood. In fact there were no men that could be called men or anything worthy of the name of a nation. So it was that the diminutive forces of the Tartars did not fear to invade the splendid

territories of China and that they succeeded even in laying her low. This shows that the most essential task before us during resistance is the cultivation and stimulation of the people's sense of rectitude and justice.

The present use by the traitor Wang Ching-wei of the term "peace" to describe his betrayal of his country and "national salvation" to describe capitulation to the enemy manifests his determination to confuse men's minds with sophistries, calling black white. This assembly has with one voice discharged its responsibility of vindicating the distinction of right and wrong, sophistry and truth. This assertion of rectitude has made the whole country aware of the incompatibility of loyalty with treachery and of our cause with the design of the Japanese, thus adding strength to our resolve to oppose the enemy and extirpate the traitors—strength comparable to that of a million men in arms. If all our people possess a thorough realization of the severe condemnation due to treacherous rebels and of the sacred inviolability of China's national integrity, all the might and fury of the enemy will avail him nothing to destroy China. The stern judgment of this assembly has, therefore, done much to take the wind out of the sails of the Japanese and the traitors.

So far as the Japanese are concerned, however, nothing will ever make them understand the measure of the spiritual strength of our people; their ignorance of the age is incurable and of China still deeper. They stop their ears and shut their eyes to the facts, obsessed with their fixed idea of conquest. All they know of our history is the story of the decline of the Sung and Ming dynasties with their defeat by the forces of Yuan and Ch'ing. Their study of the methods used by the Tartars and the Manchus has been profound, but of the recent history of the Republic and its rise they know nothing. They take no account of the way in which the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown or of the course of the Revolution, the Northern Expedition and Resistance. They are quite oblivious of the highest principle behind our endeavor to regenerate the country—the *San Min Chu I*, the driving force of the Revolution for thirty years.

I think that from your daily reading of the newspapers you must receive the impression that the much advertised dispatch of Abe* to China savors of his being conceived as a sort of Korean

Viceroy. The very over-emphatic exaggerations of their propaganda indicate their consciousness of their own hypocrisy. What they do not allow for is the stimulus our national and fighting spirit derives from their insults and the store of resentment they are laying up in our hearts. So far from China being, as in Sung times, "without men," the present concentration of the nation's human resources in this assembly is sufficient proof both of their adequacy and of the way the nation can command them to the full in the service of its cause. It shows that the whole people has come under the influence of the nationalist principle and abounds in men of the fiber of the revolutionary martyrs Hsu Hsi-lin, Wen Sheng-ts'ai, Li P'ei-chi and P'eng Chia-chen.† Those who think to destroy China will find themselves first destroyed by us. I am ready to commit myself to the bold claim that we are now a nation entirely devoted to the Three Principles, capable of planned, intelligent and determined action. Looking at Japan, on the other hand, we see a country of which it is said not only by foreigners but also publicly by the Japanese themselves: "Japan has not a man to her name." I think we can say at least that her present statesmen are all spineless and visionless, while her army men lack character and the true military virtues. You need only look at their behavior since the Mukden Incident, at the Konoye Statement on the "New Order for East Asia" and at the Secret Pact concluded with Wang Ching-wei at the end of last year, and at Abe's dispatch to China on a mission reminiscent of the process whereby Korea was conquered to see how mean, dishonest with themselves and others and brainless are the contemporary Japanese politicians and army men. With these brainless and characterless men in control of everything the country might as well be "without men." You will observe what the future fate of Abe may be. For my part I think that though he cannot stand comparison with the assassinated first Viceroy to Korea, Ito, he may very well meet an end similar to that of the Manchu officials Feng Shan of Kwangtung, Liang Pi of Peking, Tuan Fang of Szechwan and En Ming of Anhwei, all killed in the years preceding

*General Nobuyuki Abe, one-time Japanese Premier, was sent as Japan's first "ambassador" to Nanking following Japan's "recognition" of her puppet Wang Ching-wei.

†Early revolutionists who paid with their lives for assassinating or plotting against Manchu officials and generals between the years 1907 and 1911.

the Revolution. Even should he escape a violent death himself, the result of his coming to China will be the ruin of his country at our hands. Abe's present journey to China is evidence both of Japan's "lack of men" and of her complete failure. Contrariwise it indicates that resistance has given China a thoroughly sound foundation for her renaissance and rendered her the protector of all other Asiatic nations' freedom.

Second: with regard to economic development. You have concerned yourselves with the economic problems of this war period in particularly close detail. It has given me the greatest pleasure to observe your enthusiastic contribution to the working out of the problems now confronting the Government. I have, however, certain views I wish to bring up in this connection. The nature of Chinese economy is different from that of any other country and it is not to be regarded from the same point of view as that suitable to any other country. As the war goes on economic difficulties become greater and more numerous; in this respect of course China is in no way exceptional, but the economic situation in China during the past three years of war may be said to be better, generally speaking, than that in other countries at war. Yet it has been no easy task to achieve this in view of the poor and inadequate economic structure of pre-war China. The principal reason for its being possible lies in the fact that China is a country adapted by nature to the waging of a protracted war; its economy naturally differs from that of the industrialized nations. You have expressed anxiety over the problem of commodity prices, but on this point I slightly differ from you. Of course everything possible must be done to stabilize the prices of daily necessities for the people's livelihood, to put a stern check upon profiteering and to improve means of communication and supply, but I hold that there is no ground for uneasiness about the economic future of the country as a whole. Previous to the war I held a similar view of military matters. Our economic position, so far from being hopeless, would be free from difficulty if we could fully exploit our human and other resources. Our land is one of great area, rich resources and numerous population; everywhere food and clothing are obtainable, and shelter is a question readily solved. Clothing, food and shelter are the three great economic necessities of the people; if we properly adjust and manage these

matters, communications and transport will not present any problem. Therefore, if we exert ourselves to increase production there will be nothing else really worth worrying about. Resistance is of advantage to the development and completion of all our economic plans: the longer the war lasts the more hopeful will our economic situation become.

Moreover, now that we have established our second "Three Year War-Economy Plan" I have no hesitation in saying that both Government and people should do their best to carry into practice the economic plans already laid down and the resolutions passed at this session of the Council for all to go well. Efforts are called for not only from the Government but also from all citizens, who must urge on one another, and co-operate to see that production is increased and management adjusted as circumstances require. I am sure we shall thus be able to maintain protracted resistance and obtain in vast measure the sympathy of nations friendly to us. Even should the situation become many times more difficult, we shall yet be able to continue building up our economic strength as the war goes on. What everyone must realize is that special endurance and self-sacrifice is demanded of us; we cannot treat war time by the standards of peace time. We cannot possibly complain if we are obliged to undergo a little hardship. We must look forward to days to come ten times or perhaps twenty times harder than the present time, and prepare to meet them by establishing the determination to endure whatever hardships, and prevail over whatever difficulties, may come. We must do our utmost to increase production, to promote thrift and to reform all economic procedure. The Government must take its responsibilities with special seriousness and citizens brace themselves to perform their duties with special vigor and resolution. We should take the period of slack indulgence and irresponsibility at the end of the Sung Dynasty as a warning. If at that time there had been in public and private life the ability to endure and strive, the dynasty would not have perished and it is still more certain that, with a foundation now laid for our ultimate victory, the Japanese will never succeed in conquering us unless we throw ourselves into their power through indolence and disunity on our own part.

Third: in regard to the introduction of constitutional govern-

ment. During this session councilors have brought forward their views on the question of constitution-drafting. Time has not permitted of the reaching of any final conclusion, but we shall be able to carry on our study of the various points raised after the adjournment. The Council intends to submit the draft of its prospecting committee and the views of individual councilors to the Government pending a selection of what it thinks fit by the National People's Congress when it meets to take the final decision. During the last two days of the session I have presented a simple exposition of my own views and I now wish to add something further in explanation.

I think that the questions whether a certain constitution is perfect, whether it is practicable and whether there are the men to make it work are all separate problems. The men who operate the machinery of the constitutional system will be drawn not only from the ranks of the Government; the whole people must participate in the responsibility for its operation and furnish talent for that purpose. The views I expressed I hold not in my capacity as President of the Executive Yuan but simply as a member of this Council contributing to its debate on this question. We are concerned here not with our own position but with the future prosperity and welfare of the nation. It has been my hope and my constant purpose for years to see the Constitution established as soon as possible. Nevertheless I have preserved an open mind free from prejudice. My greatest desire is that when it is established it may function, especially during the first ten or twenty years, with precision, smoothness and without obstruction and embarrassment. It will soon be thirty years since the Republic was established, yet the nation has not fixed upon a democratic form of government; all sorts of involvements have arisen and many of you present here today will have experienced the disabilities of this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Being all of us charged with the responsibility of bringing the Constitution into being and practice, we must not lose sight of the painful experiences and lessons of the past thirty years and still less of the boundless suffering caused our fellow-citizens by the constitutional problem and the immense damage done the nation. There can be no hasty and ill-considered action in regard to a form of constitution such as might cause more damage and suffering. I have, therefore, two points I want to impress upon you.

(1) In the matter of defining the Constitution the whole object in view is the genuine good of the people. We must pay attention not only to the past, but also to the present and future. So far as the past is concerned we have to give due weight to the characteristic features of our nation and its history and benefit from the hard-won lessons learned since the Republic was established. In regard to the present we must take into account the conditions of this period of Resistance and Reconstruction. Looking into the future, we must anticipate the circumstances that will exist ten or twenty years after the Constitution is promulgated and plan for the permanent well-being of the people for an indefinite length of time to come. A detailed consideration is required of all the means to build up the national power of self-defense, develop the happiness of the whole mass of the people and strengthen the citizen's rights. I have often spoken of the meaning of action and of its all-important quality of conscientiousness: whatever course of action is decided upon we shall be able to give constitutional government an unshakable foundation.

(2) Since we are out to make of China a *San Min Chu I* Republic we must implicitly obey the spirit of Dr. Sun's principle of the People's Sovereignty and the Five-Power Constitution. In our adherence to the teachings of the Father of the Republic it is essential to grasp the real sense of the distinction between sovereignty and ability and the creative quality of the Five-Power System, so that no conflict with the provisions of that system may occur. If it is held that objective conditions dictate that necessity of gradual completion and advance, some temporary makeshifts will be admissible but under no circumstances whatever can there be the incorporation in the Constitution itself of any provisions modifying the application of the Three Principles or conflicting with the spirit of the Five-Power Constitution. I am of the opinion that there must be the fullest devotion to practicality and due weight given to the unwritten law of precedent. Accordingly, our provisions should not be excessively rigid, but sufficiently elastic to permit of their complete realization in practice.

The above is a review of the most important questions examined by this session of the Council together with some expression of my personal views. This Fifth Session is now at an end. Within six

months the National People's Congress will assemble. The work of Resistance and Reconstruction becomes more pressing from day to day. There will be many matters demanding your continued efforts after the adjournment. It is not for me to thank you for the courage and self-sacrifice you have displayed in the common cause; the whole people and army have been inspired by your example. In a phrase, what I have to say to you is that in the completion of the great enterprise of Resistance and Reconstruction, practicality and realism are supremely important; of this both you and I need to remind ourselves. The work of national salvation requires of us both physical and mental exertion. We must eliminate all facile approximation. All my life I have put myself on my guard against highfalutin idealism detached from realities. Our highest duty, we must remember, is to secure for China independence, freedom and equality with other nations. With reconstruction incomplete and our people still afflicted as they are, we Chinese, in the eyes of foreigners, are even worse off than conquered slaves. For generations factions have set at nought the interests of the nation and now the enemy desire is to see us divided and weakened by internal strife. The spirit displayed by this Council, however, is in direct opposition to the enemy's evil calculations; it amounts to a powerful counter-stroke aimed at him and the puppets. I hope that you will all continue to exert your utmost for the nation in the manner that spirit suggests.

The Way to Local Autonomy

An address given at the Szechwan Training Academy on May 1, 1940, on the occasion of the opening of the first term of the instructional course in local administration.

MAY 1, 1940.

THE first term of this course of instruction for local administrators opens today. I desire first of all to rouse your liveliest attention to the magnitude of the responsibility public servants must bear for the building up of local political organization and the welfare of the people.

The object of the course is to make of all you men now under training the executors of a sound local administrative system, loyally discharging your duties, fulfilling the provisions of the new *hsien* system, pressing forward with local autonomy, and promoting local commerce and industry to the end that the people of the province may all enjoy a sufficiency of the necessities of life and secure livelihoods. You will then be able worthily to bear the name of followers of the Three Principles of the People and public servants of the present age. The rules and aims of the training given here are all laid down in the regulations. While they will be fully explained to you in due course by your instructors, it is to be hoped that you will also individually give them your earnest study. There is no need for me to enlarge upon them; but, apart from the curriculum fixed by the regulations there are many important points that might easily escape your notice, and these I mean to take this opportunity of bringing before you.

The first question for which we must have a clear answer today is: What is the real nature of the studies you are to pursue here? And the simple answer is: All the knowledge and abilities needed for the stimulation of good tendencies and the eradication of evil ones in political, economic, social and educational matters, and the cultivation of a spirit of revolutionary reconstruction. This insti-

tution was created for the purpose of producing a group of fighters in the struggle for revolutionary reconstruction, equipped to reform the various evils of the past political state of the province, and to proceed to positive measures of rehabilitating local business and advancing the prosperity of the whole population of the province.

A searching examination of the state of affairs existing in the past shows that the most fundamental of our political abuses consisted in the failure of public servants comprehensively to execute their orders. There was also a lack of concern that orders should reach their right destinations, that they should be explained and their efficacy checked. The result was that organizations made a general practice of treating orders as matter for outward conformance and actual evasion, passing things over in any way that best served their turn. There was a complete disregard in issuing mandates to subordinates of the way in which the rulings should be framed in order to secure thorough execution, as to whether the subordinates concerned could understand the intentions behind the mandate on receiving it and how a check on results could be secured. Orders were frequently merely issued and never properly put into practice. Orders originating from the provincial government were often pigeon-holed or side-tracked on reaching *hsien* districts. Not only would local *hsiang*, *chen*, *pao* and *chia** authorities often have no idea what a particular order was about, but even heads and members of sections in provincial government departments might be equally unaware of its meaning and importance. Consequently they would dismiss all questions of how it was to be executed and bury it deep. In this way orders excellent, well-conceived and planned in themselves would come to nothing. This evil has remained a rooted one from the end of imperial times up to the present day. For forty or fifty years there has been no really thorough-going effort to reform it. Therefore, in government institutions and in society generally, mandates have come to be looked on as mere documentary red tape, while reports and the like are even more perfunctorily dealt with. All manner of good laws and administrative measures may thus prove impracticable, and the people's livelihood achieves no progress.

*The new *hsien* system of local administration is divided into four grades: *chia*, consisting of ten households; *pao*, consisting of a hundred households; *hsiang* (rural) or *chen* (urban), consisting of ten *pao*; and above that, the *hsien* (county or district) itself.

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All kinds of corrupt political and social practices have arisen from this cause. Were no change ever to be effected our society would perennially be a backward one and our nation never emerge from its semi-colonial status. We must now cleanse the country of this blot and build a new nation on the lines of the Three Principles of the People—such a nation as foreigners will not only fear to affront but will respect.

The first step must be to form a profound determination to clear ourselves of this fundamental abuse. You who are here today to start your training will one day be called upon to make yourselves responsible for putting the affairs of the province into good order. An essential is the cultivation of such a spirit of respect for commands as will lead to their being put as fully as possible into effect. Particular emphasis must be put upon precise provision for the penetration of commands to their appropriate destinations and upon the conditions of time, method and procedure involved. All important mandates, following their issuance, require clear explanation of what they entail, and close superintendence of the way in which subordinates fulfill them. As circumstances may demand, guidance and inspection should be introduced in order that the entire scope of the provisions may be realized. You must all realize that this course is designed to train you in the work of reforming the lower political organization of the country and in advancing the process of establishing local autonomy. The success or failure, the acceleration or delay, of that process will depend upon whether the government's decrees and plans are or are not conscientiously put into practice. Henceforth the provincial government, all its departments and offices, *hsien* governments and all responsible officials of whatever rank, in giving and receiving orders, will do well to adhere strictly to what I have to say today.

Above all, we must have all significant decrees conveyed to the very lowest strata of the body politic—to the *hsiang*, *chen*, *pao* and *chia*. The elders of these units must take advantage of the opportunities provided by weekly memorial meetings and monthly citizens' assemblies to call the people together and give them detailed explanation of the intentions underlying important government mandates, and of the methods whereby they are to be put into effect, of the benefits that will consequently accrue to all, and of the harm

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that will come of failure to put them into practice. At the same time a retrospect should be taken of what orders during the past month have been received, of what orders have been carried into effect and to what degree, a check thus being kept upon the record of achievement, with a view to seeking a final completeness. In future the execution of mandates by the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* authorities should be aided by the utilization of these weekly and monthly meetings as a means of training and guiding the people to regard this as a fundamental part of the approach to local autonomy. The competitive principle must also be employed in order to ascertain which *hsiang, chen, pao* or *chia* has contributed most to the record of achievement, where there has been correct, and where incorrect, conduct, and so on, with a view to appropriate reward and punishment. A close analysis of the situation should be made accordingly, published and made known to the people of every *hsien* throughout the province. The commendable must be rewarded and the contrary penalized that the distinction between right and wrong may be clear and a tendency nourished of being supremely solicitous of the public good. It is thus that progress will be made in local autonomy and a new society eventually constructed, a new nation at last created.

All of you now present must devote yourselves to the development of the ability and mental inclination to reform old evils and get mandates thoroughly obeyed. What I have said about utilizing public meetings for the purpose of keeping a check on achievement calls for your closest attention and most strenuous efforts. It has been laid down that sub-committee meetings are to be held every week to afford you the opportunity of discussing and criticizing at length all the views the people have brought forward on the subject of mandates and plans or on the state of your own work. On your return to your posts you will be in a position to convey the experience you have gained to the authorities of the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia*, by whom it may be passed on also to the people in general. For the training you are now to receive should prove something more than merely your possession. After it is finished you are to convey the methods, the spirit, and the way of life you have acquired here to all those public servants who have not accompanied you here; the influence of your training is to go on gradually

spreading until the mass of the people is permeated with the spirit of this institution. In this way one of you will come to exercise the strength of ten men, nay, of a thousand or ten thousand men. We shall thus approach the ideal goal of a new China rebuilt on the lines of the Three Principles of the People. When once you have earned the name of practicing adherents of those principles, you are to proceed to undertake the duties of reconstructing a new Szechwan and a new China. You must first make yourselves new citizens and public servants of the present age.

To attain this great end, it may be asked, to fulfill this vast undertaking, where is a beginning to be made? and what is to be the center and turning point of our efforts? The answers to these questions are to be found in repeated utterances of mine which have been published in separate form. You will do well to refer to them at length. Apart from the matter of respect for and comprehensive application of mandates, the most vital of the points I have made in my speeches is the necessity of public servants' insistence upon the qualities of unselfishness, diligence, rapidity, realism, fearlessness and honesty in their work. Of these qualities the first is the most indispensable. In my address on "The Structure of the Three Principles of the People and the Sequence of Steps to their Fulfillment," what I said of "universal commonality" is the ultimate principle of all Chinese political thought and the highest ideal of the *San Min Chu I*, and it is a fundamental heading under which all political, moral and personal self-improvement may be ranged. Since we are appointed public servants of the nation we must make this quality of concern for the common interest the subject of our most thorough efforts to bring the factual into the closest relation with the nominal. Political corruption and social iniquity with us in the past, the lack of faith in their rulers general among the people, and the consequent backwardness of all administrative, educational, and public enterprises were due to public servants' ignorance or neglect of this quality. The old corrupt officialdom was aware only of its own interests and unaware of the demands made upon it by the public weal and the law. In addition to our future efforts to build up a sound foundation for the political system of the country, to fulfill

**T'ien hsia wei kung*. Translated by Legge "a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky" and by Callery "*l'empire était la chose publique.*"

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our revolutionary responsibilities, to bring about a change in modes of social thinking and living, to set up a model system of local autonomy, and to practice the quality of "public-spiritedness," we must by force of example lead subordinates toward the ideal of unselfish public service. It must be realized that the slightest indulgence of self-interest on our part as public servants results in damage not only to the nation but also to ourselves. For the very facts of the aggression from which our country is now suffering and of our social corruption and decadence are traceable to this evil, which is deep-rooted in the mind of China. A change is not to be effected in a day or so, but we must start by devoting ourselves to the nation's interest, making our own conduct exemplary, and thus exercising a moral influence over our subordinates. The confidence of the people may thus be won and the goal of political reform attained.

The way of securing an attitude of devotion to the public good and the sanctity of law among local authorities and especially among the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders will certainly consist in a display of model behavior on the part of responsible superiors, by our perfectly fulfilling the duty of parental instruction and guidance toward the people. But it is no less necessary that we should make ourselves fully acquainted with the nature of the malpractices I am about to enumerate. We have to realize how perfunctory and slack many of the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders now are in the performance of their duties, how frequent are cases of peculation and oppression, how much the execution of mandates is obstructed and the realization of local autonomy prevented. We must fully appreciate the facts of the situation, for a cure can be devised only when the disease is known. Means can be devised to effect supervision and prevention only when the nature of the case is ascertained. Otherwise an ignorance of the various abuses mentioned below and a failure to reform them will rob us of any sound starting point for more positive action. In the same way an officer in command of troops, were he ignorant of their faults and defects, would find all his own scrupulous obedience to orders and observance of rules of no efficacy, and he would have no success as their leader. We as public servants have also, in what we do to serve society, to know the weaknesses of our subordinates and find the appropriate method of dealing with

those weaknesses. Previous to all reform must come careful diagnosis of the disorders concerned.

You have been long serving in various branches of government organization and you come from a great variety of localities. You will undoubtedly know much of the abuses prevalent among the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* authorities. What I wish to do today is to point out some of the most common of those abuses so that you may make a mental note of them as subjects for your future study of concrete and effective means of remedying and eradicating them. Let us enumerate them under four heads.

One: The misuse of public position to serve private ends. Often the elders on appointment set about making their position a source of selfish gain by the abuse of the power it gives them by farming out taxes, managing hotels, and so on. It is a matter of making official position the means of gratifying selfish desires. This sort of conduct is not only an obstacle to progress in local autonomy but it also arouses the antipathy of the people.

Two: The wielding of official prestige as a weapon in oppressing the people. There is a general lack of thorough education in citizenship among *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders. In their ignorance, they often imagine their appointment a mere way to power and consequence, an instrument not for the service and welfare of the people, but as one for gratifying their own desires in defiance of others. The result is that the mere possession of these functionaries has often been an additional source of affliction for the people. This oppressive attitude is a feature of the past behavior of landlords and squararchs which has yet to be reformed.

Three: The utilization of the title of *hsiang, chen, pao* or *chia* elder as a means to avenge themselves in private feuds. This is also an evil frequently to be observed. Those who offend in this respect seem to fail to realize that on their assumption of the title they are obliged to set the people an example, divest themselves of all private malice and animosity, and throw themselves wholeheartedly into their public duties. They on the contrary grasp their power as a weapon to use in revenging themselves on persons who have incurred their displeasure. Particularly in cases of the exposure of their own malpractices, they seek to use their influence for the discomfiture or ruin of those opposing their interests, with the

result that the people subsequently swallow their indignation and fear to speak out.

Four: A greater evil still arises from the abuse by elders of the power, to a great extent in their hands, of engaging labor for public works and of recruiting soldiers. In this connection opportunities arise for all sorts of cruel exactions from the poor and for illegitimate exemption of the rich and consequential. On the one hand merciless extortion and on the other absolute immunity—this sort of social injustice represents the damage *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders are capable of doing to the *pao-chia* system. How, while these wrongs are perpetrated, are we ever to make available to the people the benefits intended in the measures and laws prescribed by the government? How are we ever to fashion a modern nation? Therefore your especial attention will be required in the matter of ways and means of preventing the elders from maltreating the weak and well-intentioned while they servilely permit the powerful wrong-doer to have his way.

The four main descriptions of corruption I have just enumerated are common phenomena in the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* districts of China today. Szechwan is naturally no exception. On your return to your *hsien* districts to train the elders under your supervision, you must make absolutely clear to them that, if they commit these criminal errors, not only will the Principles never be realized and the nation never be delivered from its pressing dangers, but the whole *pao-chia* system with all its excellent provisions will be ruined by them, local autonomy will be put beyond all hope of realization, and the people will never see the day of release from the burdens now weighing on them. Their conduct will be equivalent to that of traitors and their offense against Party, nation and people will be mortal. It is above all desirable to stir them to a thorough awakening, bringing about a reversal of their former conceptions of their duties. Only then will these malpractices disappear and the full efficacy of the *pao-chia* system be exploited. In regard very particularly to the raising of labor and recruiting, equity must imperatively be sought and abuses purged with especial severity. The elders must forget they are private individuals susceptible to flattery and intimidation, and see only with eyes for rectitude in the public interest. If in the course of faithfully fulfilling their duties and up-

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holding justice they encounter opposition or slanderous attack from the landlords and squirarchs, we should furnish them protection. They must not be involved in trouble because of their devotion to duty in such a way as to discourage them from continuing in public service. On the one hand we must keep a close watch over our subordinates and see that they have full scope for the performance of their duty; on the other hand we must make ourselves responsible for preventing their being in any way socially ostracized or penalized by small groups of individuals maligning them and opposing them for what they do in loyally obeying government orders and carrying out the new system of *hsien* administration. In this way zeal will be stimulated, habitual malpractices eradicated, a firm foundation laid for local autonomy and the Three Principles of the People genuinely realized.

Next, in our work henceforth for the advance of local autonomy, the most important point is our applying ourselves realistically to the problems involved. Every day's work should yield its definite measure of progress and every step lead to a definite result. In our way of going about things we must especially emphasize the quality of precision. In the past we had plans, rules, and regulations and all sorts of organizations, yet everything undertaken came to nothing because nobody knew how to make a realistic approach to the work. You will do well to make a close study of what I have said in this respect in my lectures to the Central Training Academy. I spoke, however, only of certain general principles of procedure. The actual application of these principles in specific cases would, of course, require the vigorous exercise of your own discretion according to circumstances of place and time. One description of procedure would call for the application of one particular principle, on the basis of which concrete steps would have to be resolved upon. Regular and steady progress may thus be made. Otherwise the best of methods and intentions will prove totally ineffective in the absence of realistically conceived and practicable procedure. It is indispensable that you should be acquainted with scientific principles and with the use of scientific methods. There is a booklet in which I have fully explained the significance of scientific principle, and to this I would call your earnest attention. Its contents call not only for your individual efforts at full comprehension but also for con-

veyance by you to the knowledge of *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders. I believe that apart from utterly degenerate and self-forsaking elements with whom nothing can be done, all other men with even only the most elementary ideas of nationhood and progress will certainly consent to proceed along scientific lines for the sake of greater efficiency in their work. We may have principles, organization, rules and regulations, but effectiveness and success in our undertakings have yet to be attained.

Among ancient Chinese statesmen previous to Ch'in and Han times, Duke Chow may be held supreme; thereafter Wang An-shih* is the figure I most admire. He proved himself capable of designing on the basis of our Chinese political axioms plans that corresponded exactly to the evils of the age. He devised a new political system, remolded society, and reconstructed the economic structure of the country in order to relieve the poverty-stricken condition of the Sung State of that time. His deficiency, however, lay in his failure to provide himself with sound executives and to give his attention to problems of training personnel. The result was that his plans were not carried into effect and were completely nullified. It is for us to treat his failure as a warning lesson in respect of training executive personnel. On the one hand we may well model ourselves upon his disregard of merit and demerit, his fearlessness of fatigue and malice, and his patriotic fervor. On the other hand we must make amends in our own proceedings for his faults of inattention to methods of approach, and to the training and supervision of subordinates. In pushing forward with local autonomy, we want, in addition to organization and regulations, thorough exploration of ways and means to the end. If only we have those ways and means clear, funds, where there may appear a lack of them, can be produced, man power can be found, enterprises at first apparently of great difficulty can rapidly be brought to success. There must be preparation, method, and training before we can successfully reach our objective.

Again, in conducting local autonomy, and indeed in all political work, a single individual of us has to concern himself with scores, hundreds or thousands of his fellow-men. It is naturally incumbent

*Duke Chow of the Chow Dynasty (1122-222 B.C.), see page 202. Wang An-shih (1021-1086), reformist statesman and political thinker of the Sung Dynasty.

upon him, therefore, to understand the nature of guidance and leadership. For that he needs to know how to supervise, for leadership and supervision are mutually interdependent and supplementary. The former presupposes the latter: without supervision leadership will inevitably fail. General neglect of this fact in the past, the reliance upon mere giving of orders without going on to see to it that they are carried into practice, frequently caused such orders to prove quite ineffectual. Such conduct cannot be tolerated by any nation of the present age. In a modern nation men do not talk and issue orders and leave it at that; they go on to see that those responsible execute those orders to the full. Only then do they consider their duty done as the originators of the orders concerned. As the public servants and citizens of a modern nation, to whatever sphere of administration we may belong, we must follow up all the orders and plans we make by strict supervision of subordinates—particularly of the basic executives, *pao-chia* elders and their various subordinates—to make sure that they exert themselves energetically in order to put fully into execution the sense of plans and mandates.

In regard to all descriptions of work, therefore, it is essential to consider how efficiency is to be checked. The process of such "checking" consists in "making the nominal and the actual agree" and in seeking factual reality. Right and wrong, merit and demerit must be reckoned on grounds of actual results. This ideal of making the nominal and the actual coincide does not permit of favor being shown to those from one's native place or to relations, of saying things are done when they are not or work finished when it is not. Only unselfish public service and uniform obedience to the law will now enable us to set China on the right road to political well-being. In managing the affairs of the masses control and guidance are indispensable, and to develop the capacity for guidance thorough supervision is essential. If supervision yields results the nominal will necessarily be brought to agree with the actual, and that will imply just and unfailing apportionment of praise and blame. This is an important requisite of our future work. There is no more important feature than this of the knowledge you are to acquire in this institution.

On your return to your posts you will have to set a personal example to your subordinates and the people. You must start by

establishing a reputation for integrity. By unselfish devotion to the public interest, patient endurance of toil and ill will, and by constant care over every detail of our daily lives we should attempt to furnish the people with a model of correct conduct. Our especially close attention must be given to the poor, the old, the children, and all in the district open to oppression and maltreatment. They demand our very closest care and protection to the end that each and every one of them may obtain a satisfactory place and livelihood in society. Our ancient Chinese political order made its main principles "selection of the wise and able" and "the observance of pledged faith and the cultivation of cordial relations with neighbors," but a principle exceeding even these in importance was that of respect for age and protection of the young. These principles form the course we must follow if we are to set local political organization on the right road. The ancients said: "A hamlet of ten houses must yet possess men of loyalty and good faith." It is for us to learn how to seek out such men of excellent qualities in the localities under our care; those with signs of promise should be displayed as a standard for society, and those with ability be given the opportunity to undertake enterprises in the neighborhood. As a consequence the whole business of local autonomy would achieve redoubled success for half the trouble. Wherever we may be we must show respect for and treat with distinction the old when we encounter them, and in the case of unemployed young men and unschooled and unfed children we must try to find means of rescuing them and caring for them. If we provide an example, the influence of it will necessarily extend downwards, and the *hsiang, chen, pao* and *chia* elders will not dare to take advantage of the old and weak or frustrate men of qualities and ability. Our object of reconstructing Szechwan will thus be gradually approached.

It is undoubtedly known to you that every *hsien* district of the province possesses inexhaustible resources. The earth might be supposed paved with gold. Not only are the cultivated areas of rice and wheatfields immense, but every stream in the province contains the yellow metal. With land and resources of such richness and with a population so numerous, if we government administrators put forth all our energies to explore the possibilities, striving with patience and endurance and making use of all the manpower

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available in order to develop these limitless resources, there would be no question of unemployment or illiteracy for anybody and every man and woman would have his or her sufficiency of clothing and food. Yet, under the existing circumstances there are not only unemployed young men and uneducated children, but there is also general poverty among the people, even to the point of starvation and death. This cannot be described as anything but a disgrace for public servants of Szechwan. Having this vast manpower at our disposal, we fail to turn it to account; provided with such rich resources we fail to develop them. This means that the Government has not fulfilled its responsibilities. It is an indication of the fact that we public servants of the province lack ability and devotion to our duties.

Henceforth we must all give advancement to those of good qualities and abilities, cultivating good faith and cordiality in our relations with the people, allowing everybody the fullest opportunity of contributing what he can to the service of the public. At the same time we must exercise respect for the aged and care for the weak until there is no single member of our society who is shelterless and neglected. This is the most important end local autonomy sets out to attain and it constitutes the fundamental work for putting the Three Principles of the People into practice. I hold that if you will energetically pursue the policy and follow out the methods I am defining for you today, not only will every inhabitant of Szechwan within three years have food to eat and clothes to wear, but within ten a splendid, strong, prosperous new China will be created.

Now I wish to pass on to some other descriptions of important work for the successful accomplishment of which I intend to hold you responsible and to which it is my hope you will apply yourselves with all possible seriousness. Firstly: fitting distribution of material resources and stabilization of commodity prices. From the *hsien* government down to the local *pao-chia* unit all are concerned in this responsibility of adjusting supply of commodities to the demand and needs of their localities. The quantity of goods stored up has to be investigated and means devised of stabilizing the prices of things in everyday use, and of preventing hoarding and speculation with consequent sharp rises in price levels. These measures are required

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for the security of the people's livelihood. The Government is about to issue a number of effective measures which I hope you will give your constant attention and vigorously execute in such manner as circumstances of time and place may dictate.

Secondly: let there be set on foot a movement to improve and strengthen means of transport. It must be realized that while transport is not properly managed satisfactory distribution will never be attained however much production may be increased, however plentiful commodities may be rendered in particular places. The price problem turns on this matter of distribution and transport. Dr. Sun said: "Let the best be got out of things and the flow of goods be accelerated"—that is, transport facilities must be exploited to the full; the methods and means of transport in various localities differ according to local conditions, but all that is essential is a complete resolution to effect improvements and remove obstacles. There will always be found room for increase in efficiency. Henceforth all grades of government administration and local autonomous institutions must give their especially close study to increasing transport facilities and accelerating the flow of goods from place to place. *Hsien* governments must consider in the fullest detail the actual nature of local conditions and lay down concrete plans for thorough application.

Thirdly: this year the Central Government ordered the Bank of China, the Central Bank, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank of China to make available one hundred million dollars' worth of credit loans for farmers. If this immense sum of money is put to proper use it will undoubtedly bring about a vast increase in happiness for all our fellow-countrymen of Szechwan. Therefore to see that these loans are rationally paid out in order that the agricultural population may get real benefit, rural economy be developed, and rural production be advanced, is the obligation of all grades of government organization and all ranks of public servants must work out practical plans and make themselves responsible for their execution. It will not do for things to proceed as in the past with the banks or co-operative societies lending money to the farmers in ways that brought them no practical advantage, but rather even the ills attendant upon high-interest loans.

Fourthly: in the program of local autonomy there are two items

that are of particular importance in regard to the province of Szechwan. Of these one is the accurate measurement of land and another the reclamation of wasteland. The process of obtaining accurate figures of land-holdings in the province must be accelerated. What might have been thought two years' work must be carried out in one year, and what might take three years be done in eighteen months. The intrinsic difficulty of this is not important: what is lacking is good contact between government and people and its consequent failure to mobilize their strength. Putting local autonomy into force implies uniting government and people and ending the divorce prevailing between them in the past. I hope for your thorough realization of this. We must do all possible to develop wasteland. At present not only are there many of the more remote *hsien* districts with much land lying waste but also in even the rather less accessible spots nearer at hand there is soil which there has not been a proper effort to develop. There lies before us the necessity of studying how the power of the people can be put in motion for the purpose of measuring acreage and reclaiming wasteland, the aims being the increase of funds needed for local autonomy and the relief of the afflictions of the poor and wretched among our fellow-countrymen.

The points I have made above all belong to the sphere of economics. We must not suppose that because we are administrators economic reconstruction is no concern of ours but of experts. It must be realized that local autonomy is just as dependent upon a good economic foundation, as the whole political system of the nation. While land lies waste, local economy is undeveloped and the people lack food and clothing, local autonomy is scarcely a thing to be talked of. In promoting political advancement we have first to lay a good economic foundation. That entails the above-mentioned work of distributing material resources, stabilizing commodity prices, improving transport services, facilitating the granting of agricultural credit, measurement of the land, reclamation work, and the increase of public funds.

You have come here today to be trained not merely in how to organize the *pao-chia* system, collect statistics and in similar knowledge and functions connected with local autonomy. Such is simply the scope of the management of local autonomy, whereas our ultimate

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aims in promoting local autonomy are economic development and the enrichment of the people's livelihood. Those great aims demand of every individual among our people endurance with fortitude of the hardships that may fall to his lot and the exertion of his full strength and ability. Only thus can a rich and powerful country arise.

In these three years to come we must see to it that every inhabitant of the province has clothes to wear and food to eat. Nothing in the world can be attained without exertion. If for instance farmers are to reap a rich harvest in the autumn they have to make great efforts in their spring plowing and summer weeding; for without these efforts there would be no harvest. If we are, therefore, to establish local autonomy and reconstruct the province of Szechwan, it is imperative that we should set about our work with all our might. It was anciently said that "it is from labor that the wealth of the people comes." If we do not call forth the people's fullest capacity to labor, how are they ever to have a sufficiency of food and clothing? Particularly today in the first stages of the establishment of local autonomy we need a spirit of "thought only for tillage, and not for the harvest."

Finally, there are a number of other descriptions of work which still await our further efforts for their completion: (1) the strengthening of the system of military service; (2) co-operation in the work of bandit suppression, (3) the registration of weapons in the possession of private individuals among the people, (4) the extinction of opium and drugs. In respect of the first—to strengthen the system of military service it is necessary to reform ingrained abuses, to do all possible to secure equity and to encourage the people in spontaneously enlisting. In regard to the suppression of banditry, it is necessary to exploit the strength of the *pao-chia* system, to get the people of a locality to keep watch upon one another, voluntarily carrying out inspection work, so that lawless elements have nowhere to hide. In regard to the registration of weapons our best course is now to exhort the people rapidly to make a voluntary declaration of the weapons they hold, in order that a formal record may be made of them, while those that have already been recorded are to become perpetually at the disposal of the locality for purposes of militia defense. As for opium-suppression, it has already gone far but has not yet reached complete success. If the people of Szechwan can

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continue with the vigorous efficiency they have shown during the last six months in the work of opium-prohibition they will demonstrate how great a power lies in the Chinese nation, a power capable of achieving anything it makes its object. It will also prove an indication of the fine capacity for local autonomy and the spirit of service among the inhabitants of this province. If only this spirit displayed in the task of opium-suppression can be thrown into other work, not only will local autonomy be accomplished within the period stipulated but economic reconstruction also will make flying strides of progress, and the future of our country present a prospect of limitless splendor.

The four points I have just mentioned are very intimately related to local autonomy and economic reconstruction. I hope that all of you while you are here will study and discuss them before later going out to do your practical administrative work. Strive together and urge one another on to the end of final and total success. In conclusion you must all grasp the meaning behind the formation of this class of which you are members, putting your utmost into the task of making of yourselves sound local administrators, casting out the bad habits of the past, and working up a revolutionary spirit, in order that you may eventually undertake the responsibility of making an absolutely fresh start with local administration and the prosecution of local autonomy. Then we shall be able worthily to bear the name of modern citizens and adherents of the Three Principles of the People, and the province of Szechwan will veritably become the base of a reawakening China.

Opium the National Enemy

A message read by the Minister of the Interior at a meeting held on June 3, 1940, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Viceroy Lin Tse-hsu's burning of British merchants' opium at Canton in 1839, which precipitated the Opium War.

JUNE 3, 1940.

THIS is the last year of the Six-Year Opium-Suppression Plan.

Following the outbreak of the War of Resistance in 1937 it was generally supposed both abroad and at home that the resulting pre-occupation with military affairs would have an ill effect upon all such measures of civil administration. It seemed, moreover, that the Japanese policy of perverting the people to the consumption of drugs wherever possible would prove an effective means of frustrating our attempt at opium-suppression. The course of action originally designed for the Six-Year Plan was so hindered that some thought there would inevitably have to be a postponement of the time-limit fixed. Those who took this view, however, little realized that the energy with which we set about the suppression of opium was aroused by our deep desire to remove what had been for one hundred years a curse upon the nation, to restore to good health the elements among our people depraved by it as a necessary step toward the end of national rebirth. At the same time we intrepidly threw ourselves with all our strength into resistance for the sake of national existence and also as another necessary part of the great enterprise of national rebirth. The two undertakings differ in their immediate objects but have a common ultimate aim.

The Japanese and opium are both China's greatest enemies: to the former we are replying with resistance; to the latter with this campaign against the drug traffic. The policy of the Japanese whereby they aim at making use of drugs to destroy our people calls for all the greater determination to achieve opium-suppression within the period set, to smash this insidious design of the enemy and supple-

ment the other work of resistance. I hold that resistance and opium-suppression are two things neither of which is of less importance than the other and neither of which can be separated from the other. I have, therefore, never relaxed my vigilant exercise of supervision and encouragement over every province in the country. The great majority of my comrades in Party and army and intelligent members of the public have, I know, fully comprehended my intentions. They have accordingly striven together for the success of the Plan.

As things stand today, though remnants of opium stores and some persistent smokers remain, such traces of the evil are now, thanks to the thoroughness with which the campaign has been conducted, very small in extent. In future the difficulty of obtaining opium will be rendered even more extreme by the cutting off of sources of supply and by the ever deepening recognition by society of the iniquitous nature of the traffic. A stern abhorrence among the people for the lawless wretches dealing in opium will lead to their utter ostracism by society, apart from the severest of punishments inflicted by the Government. Such a sound and substantial foundation has been laid for the Plan that there can be absolutely no room for talk of prolonging the allotted time. This may be considered an important achievement and a great victory in the course of resistance. With such a robust and intrepid spirit as has been displayed in this cause we should prove able to drive out the declining forces of the invader. The last touch has yet to be given the work, however, and a man who has yet only a tenth of his journey before him is wise if he considers the distance but half covered. Opium-suppression, like the war itself, still requires our unceasing efforts to gain a final victory. The inclination to consider the campaign finished because the precise date fixed for the end of the Plan is passed must not cause us to relegate the opium problem to the sphere of ordinary administrative procedure. It remains a deeply ingrained evil with a long history such that its effects must long remain everywhere present beneath the surface of national life. Again, the enemy has countered our vigorous fight against it with his active encouragement of the traffic in opium and other virulent drugs in the areas under his control, actually compelling the public sale of them in some cases and in others surreptitiously spreading their contaminating influence. We must continue, therefore, to strive against this corrupting force

that threatens both from within and without; for if we fail to do so it will creep in and make the success of the Plan after all abortive. This is the thought we must keep vividly and constantly before our minds now that the Six-Year Plan is at an end.

The following are a number of supremely important points. Firstly, for the prohibition of poppy-planting and cultivation, the resources of Party, Government and army must every year be concentrated for a thorough-going inspection of the land. Should the poppy be anywhere discovered the cultivator must be shot regardless of whatever excuse may be offered, and the *pao-chia* authorities in the vicinity must be held responsible for connivance at the crime. Those districts in outlying regions especially prone to the offense should be cleaned out at however great a cost.

Secondly, the law in cases of the transport and sale of opium or of the opening of dens must be applied with severity. Where evidence of the crime exists there can be no remission of the penalty decreed.

Thirdly, if any persons are discovered to be smoking in secret after the expiry of the period of grace allowed they will not be held entitled to medical treatment as a means of curing them. They will be condemned to a long sentence of hard labor during which the physical exercise must provide them with a natural cure. Should there be some who fall back repeatedly into the vice they must eventually be executed as a forcible deterrent to others.

Fourthly, the key to the future work of suppression will be found to lie in the proper functioning of the *pao-chia* system. When the *pao-chia* authorities discover cases of cultivation, transport or sale and report them they should be well rewarded. At the same time the method adopted for combating traitors and bandits should be applied in cases of failure to reveal the traffic. Where a single household is guilty of an offense the whole unit of the *pao* must be held involved and subject to punishment accordingly.

Fifthly, whenever areas occupied by the enemy are recovered the Party, political, and military authorities must pay immediate attention to supplies of drugs left behind by the enemy, make a thorough search, and warn the people that they are expected to give up or destroy of their own accord any opium in their possession to facilitate its eradication in the neighborhood and the prevention of its filtering into other places.

OPIUM THE NATIONAL ENEMY

Sixthly, following the date set for the completion of the Plan, the measures whereby the work is to be continued must be made a subject of widespread publicity conducted by Party, Government, army and educational authorities and penetrating deep into the knowledge of the people. Even greater enthusiasm should be shown than that of the last six years in order to bestir the consciences of offenders to a sense of the Government's benevolent intentions toward the people, while other citizens, observing its determination in the matter, will be led to co-operate in bringing final success to the task.

What I have just said comprehends what I conceive are the steps that form an effective sequel to the Six-Year Plan. If all my comrades in whatever sphere of national life will apply themselves thereto with sincere resolution and with all the force and rapidity they are capable of, not a scrap of opium will be found remaining among the Chinese people after the present year is out. I would go so far indeed as to say that, at the same time, the invaders will have been driven into the sea and be powerless ever again to poison our land with drugs. I make this anniversary of the Viceroy Lin Tse-hsu's courageous gesture of leadership the occasion for putting these points before the notice of the nation, and of calling upon all my comrades and fellow-countrymen to do their very best in the work of opium-suppression that yet lies ahead.

How to Bring a New China into Existence

Preface by the Generalissimo to China Shall Rise Again by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, published by Harper & Brothers, New York and London, June 4, 1940.

JUNE 4, 1940.

FOR the rebirth of a people certain factors are necessary. Of these one is that the people should go through a period of trials and tribulations.

The most important, however, is that the people must have full confidence in their national destiny. The possession of such confidence makes them aware of their responsibility and gives them strength to carry out their historic mission.

The Chinese have a culture and a history of more than five thousand years. They are now being threatened with extinction by the ruthless aggression of Japan. In this unprecedented crisis, their national spirit has risen to the occasion: the longer they fight, the more determined becomes their will to survive and conquer.

The ancients have a saying: "Great difficulties make a nation." How true this is! Out of her tribulations and suffering, China will surely emerge a stronger nation. This is the conviction in the heart of every true son of China, as it is also the belief of everybody the world over.

"Any medicine," runs an old proverb in China, "which does not make a man dizzy will not help him to recover." This is one of my favorite sayings, which I often quote to encourage our soldiers and fellow-countrymen.

What this means is that strong doses of medicine are necessary to cure any deep-rooted and chronic ailments. Such medicine may cause a violent reaction in the patient, but only by going through such a drastic treatment will he completely regain his health. The reason for this is plain: in every one of us there is a store of vital potential energy, and medicine which we take during illness

helps to release this energy to fight against the disease germs, and thus restore us to health. Indeed, how often have we seen men become stronger and more healthy after a dangerous illness! It is even so with a people.

Only by going through a life-and-death struggle will an old nation be reinvigorated. As with individuals, so with nations: without pain there can be no pleasure; and without suffering, no happiness.

In writing this volume, the author has striven, as her religion and her patriotism have dictated to her, to point out the many shortcomings of her people which must be remedied, if China is to be regenerated. The temptation is ever present with her to whitewash and conceal the weaknesses of her fellow-countrymen, but her conscience does not allow her to do so.

There are a few remarks I wish to make to those of our people who will read this book. First of all, I should like readers not to read it in a casual and cursory manner. They should be as earnest in reading it as the author has been sincere in writing it.

As is the fashion of youth, some young readers may derive satisfaction from the author's criticisms of our people. But her motive in pointing out the shortcomings of our people as a whole is to induce each individual to examine his own heart and see if he has not sinned in the same way as his fellow-countrymen.

Each reader should ask himself: "Those qualities which I detest—callousness, selfishness, indolence, untruthfulness, hypocrisy and perfumctoriness—are they not present in me? I call myself a patriot, but am I sincere; and mixed up with my patriotism, are there not ulterior motives? Have I sufficient strength to stick to my convictions? In making sacrifices for my country, do I do so with a clean heart? Can I go through suffering for the sake of my fellow-countrymen? Can I resist and not yield to the temptations of glory, power and material interests? Have I counted the cost and not found myself wanting?"

If a person can stand up to these questions; wash his heart clean of past faults of character; turn his face to the future with determination to carry on the good fight, then only will he deserve the name of warrior in China's struggle for regeneration.

The second point I wish to make is this: In order to be able to

contribute his share in the work of national regeneration, a man must have absolute faith in the bright future of his country.

He must feel it in his bones that his people are fundamentally sound, and their present confusion and weaknesses only temporary.

China is like a mirror which becomes blurred because dust has been allowed to accumulate upon it; but it requires only a little polishing to make it bright again.

In this connection we have to take to heart what our leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has taught us. He exhorts us to restore our traditional morality and spirit.

Anyone who looks down upon the traditional morality of our people as inadequate and valueless denies the *raison d'être* of the Chinese nation. If one denies that, then all talk of national regeneration is vain.

We, sons and daughters of China, in order to make ourselves worthy of inheriting the glorious heritage of our ancestors, ought to wipe out our present humiliations and keep our country abreast of the times.

With our feet firmly planted in the best that is in our heritage, we should look forward to the future with hope.

If this is not done, there will be no rebirth of a new and stronger China.

Lastly, all those who desire to participate in the gigantic task of national regeneration must set themselves to practice what they believe.

To know what is good and not to have the will to carry it out has been the besetting sin of our forefathers.

To this defect must be ascribed the backwardness and degeneration of our people in times past.

The youth of China today ought to do better. They have before them the teachings of their leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who has propounded this profound truth: To act is easy; to know is difficult.

HOW TO BRING A NEW CHINA INTO EXISTENCE

Speech without action is despicable; following the line of least resistance is the way of a coward; blaming others instead of oneself is only another form of selfishness and disloyalty to one's country. The revolutionary youth of our country ought to be made of sterner mettle.

The road before us is thick with thorns and brambles. It is only by pushing our way forward with perseverance and courage that we shall be able to bring a new China into existence which shall be a blessing not only to herself, but also to the world at large.

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